THE BIOGRAPHY
OF
ARTHUR YOUNG, F.R.S.
FROM HIS BIRTH UNTIL 1787

BY

C. S. HASLAM

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THÈSE PRÉSENTÉE
POUR L'OBTENTION DU GRADE
DE DOCTEUR DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE RENNES

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CHAPTER I.

Arthur Young's birth, 1741, and parentage—his education—his father's idiosyncrasies—his mother's religious opinions. Arthur Young's apprenticeship at Lynn. The novels. *The Theatre of the Present War in North America*, 1758—careful preparation—fisheries—value of communication—the author unbiassed racially—style. *Reflections on the Present State of Affairs at Home and Abroad*, 1759—censure of the English Government—the American Colonies. Death of Arthur Young's father, 1759. Arthur Young leaves Lynn. He takes up farming. *The Universal Museum*, 1762—description of the periodical—its failure. *A Letter to Lord Clive*, 1767—on the benefits of investment in agriculture. Arthur Young's marriage, 1765. The initial failure in farming at Bradfield. The removal to Sampford Hall, in Essex—the second failure. Literary contributions to the *Museum Rusticum*, 1764-1766—Walter Harte urges their separate publication. Contemporary agriculture in France. *Sylvae*, 1767—superiority of grass to arable land—modern application of this theory—course of crops—dairy produce—"On the Improvement of Wet Pastures"—Young's style—artificial grasses—manure—Jethro Tull and tillage—reasons for failure in farming—"Upon the Usefulness of Acquiring a Knowledge of Foreign Practices in Husbandry."

The facts which outline the life of Arthur Young have already been published several times, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, twice by the late Miss M. Betham Edwards,[1] by Mr. Arthur Hutton in his preface to the *Tour in Ireland*, and also by Miss Constantia Maxwell in her edition of the *Travels in France*. This by no means exhausts the list of notices, but it will be sufficient to show why it is not proposed to dwell at any great length on Arthur Young's earlier years.

He was born at Whitehall on September 11th, 1741, the second son of the Rev. Arthur Young, D.D., Rector of Bradfield, who had been educated at Eton and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. His mother before her marriage was Anne Lucretia de Coussmaker, or Crousmaker, as it is variously given. The former seems the more usual form, in spite of the *Biographical Memoir of Arthur Young*,

1. *Travels in France*, by A.Y. Ed. by B. Edwards (1905). *Arthur Young: Autobiography* ibid. (1898).

written by J. A. Paris, M.D., F.R.S., M.R.I., and published in the *Quarterly Journal of Science*, Vol. IX, 1820. This work is here mentioned in detail because research has shown it to be the foundation of practically all the biographical sketches published since that time.

Arthur Young's godfathers were the Bishop of Lincoln and Arthur Onslow, who was at that time Speaker of the House of Commons. The boy was educated at Lavenham Grammar School. This was in some ways an unfortunate occurrence. As Dr. Paris has told us : " Had not maternal fondness interposed her edicts, he would subsequently have gone to Eton and from thence to the University to receive an academic education like that bestowed upon his elder brother."[1] John Young, in fact, became a Doctor of Divinity like his father, a Prebendary of Worcester and a Fellow of Eton College.

Arthur Young himself describes the school at Lavenham as " a wretched place."

" I was to learn Latin and Greek," he writes, " but whether from being a favourite or from the diversion of frequent visits home I afterwards found myself so ill-grounded in the above languages that for some time before I left the school I found it necessary to give much attention to them in order to recover the lost time. . . . As to correction I have no recollection of receiving anything of the sort. . . .

I had a room to myself and a neat collection of books. I remember beginning to write a history of England, thinking that I could make a good one out of several others . . . How early began my literary follies ! I seemed to have a natural propensity for writing books."[2]

There are two letters from his sister Eliza Maria, written to him in the year 1755 when he was attending this school. One of these, which is dated " Friday Good," contains the following remark : " And now, Mr. Arthur, you being a very good politician, I shall proceed to entertain you with some more Parliamentary affairs."[3]

1. *Biographical Memoir*, p. 281.
2. *Autobiography*, pp. 7 and 8.
3. Ibid. p. 16.

The second letter, dated August 26th, 1755,[1] gives us a little light on the character of the father. "Be sure," writes Eliza Maria, "don't speak before my father of my playing at lottery."

We might quite reasonably expect to find a remark of that sort in letters of any other girl of the century. The following, however, stamps the Reverend Doctor Young as having held some peculiar ideas.

"Several sleepless nights made him take it into his head that anything would be better than a bed; as an experiment at one inn he ordered that a hole should be cut in a haystack, in which he passed the night."[2]

In general we do not wish to anticipate, but in this connection it may be well to notice here the result of Young's eldest sister's death on Mrs. Young.

"My mother grieved so much for her loss that she could never be persuaded to go out of mourning, but mourned till her own death, nor did she ever recover her cheerfulness. This had one good effect, and that a very important one for me; she never afterwards looked into any book but on the subject of religion, and her only constant companion was her Bible, herein copying the example of her father."[3]

This anecdote, coupled with the strict religious views implied in the daughter's remark about her card games, make us wonder if the fanatical religion which Arthur Young preached and wrote at the end of his life might not have been in part inherited. Later, when we read of him rolling naked in the snow for the good of his health, we feel that such misguided Spartanism may be something in the nature of a family tradition.

Early in the year 1758, Arthur Young's eldest sister, Eliza Maria, married a certain business man named Tomlinson. This suggested to Young's parents a favourable opening for a business career, and they apprenticed him for three years to Messrs. Robertson, wine merchants, of Lynn. "But alas! although he was not averse at any

1. *Autobiography*, p. 19.
2. Ibid. p. 14.
3. Ibid. p. 22.

period of his life from a glass of generous liquor, yet this occupation did not prove congenial to his feelings."[1]

This distaste is not surprising when we consider that the youth was already engaged in literary work which was to occupy so much of his time for the rest of his life. Moreover, he wished for a University education.

In spite of the fact that he found time for a considerable amount of dancing and other social activities, he published four novels during the four years which he spent in Lynn. These works, like so many of their contemporaries, have entirely disappeared, and only their names remain to us : *The Fair American, Sir Charles Beaufort, Lucy Watson* and *Julia Benson or the Innocent Sufferer*—titles which in themselves help to explain the disappearance of these novels.

Arthur Young also published two short works of a more serious nature : *The Theatre of the Present War in North America*, 1758, and *Reflections on the Present State of Affairs at Home and Abroad*, 1759. These are the first fruits of his interest in politics, mentioned by his sister, and show that Miss Constantia Maxwell's remark : " He was not very much interested in history, antiquities or politics "[2] must be taken only as referring to the *Tour in Ireland*.

On page V of the preface to the *Theatre*, Young says : " I have carefully and diligently consulted all the authors of any credit that have wrote upon the subject." To bear out this statement he appended a bibliography to every chapter, and the little work is carried out in a painstaking and thorough manner. It does not matter that Young later contradicted the few things which he says here in favour of colonial empire. He was forced to retract many of his agricultural opinions in the same way. We have at this time, right at the beginning of Young's literary career, an example of that thoroughness and almost over-attention to detail which is to be the most striking characteristic of his work during his whole life.

1. *Annual Biography and Obituary for the Year 1821.* Vol V., p. 122.
2. *Young's Tour in Ireland.* Ed. C. Maxwell, intro. X (1925).

This pamphlet consists of a mere fifty pages, but it is important for several things.

Firstly, it is proof of the interest which North America had awakened in this youth of seventeen—an interest which was to continue for many years.

He frequently mentions fisheries in his later works[1] and always with emphasis as to their importance. Here he writes :[2] " The advantages that arise from this (the New World) fishery are not merely the profits of the fish, or the salt to cure it, but the vast consumption of British manufactures of most kinds that must be occasioned by this trade. . . . an eternal nursery of perhaps thirty, forty or fifty thousand seamen." This is the second point.

The third point is his attention to the value of communication. " In fine, if there was but a clear and free passage from Quebec to this lake—Errie (*sic*)—it might be made a fine, rich and most fertile country." Perhaps it is rather in the nature of a digression when associated with this slight mention, but twelve years later (1770) we find Young exhibiting considerable enthusiasm regarding firstly, the original Liverpool Canal[3] and secondly, the extension to Hull.[4]

Fourthly, it is pleasant to find a young man so unprejudiced racially. Referring to the trade with the Indians who preferred to buy second hand from the French rather than new from the English, he writes : " So much do the french (*sic*) exceed us in industry, oeconomy and the arts of conciliating the affections of mankind, things that ever balance all the disadvantage they naturally labour under in this country.[5]

Lastly, the appearance of the ego with whom, perhaps, we are destined to become over familiar, but yet a striking indication of the man's character. He states his opinion directly and he will maintain it fiercely against all criticism.

1. e.g., *Tour through the North* : Vol. III, p. 195 ; *Tour in Ireland* : Vol. I, p. 182, Vol. II, p. 244 ; *Political Essays concerning the Present State of the British Empire*. Essay VI, Sec. XI, p. 502, " Of the British Fisheries."
2. *Theatre*, p. 8.
3. *Tour through the North of England*. Vol. III, p. 196 (1770).
4. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 256.
5. *Theatre*, p. 28.

[1]" I am of the opinion, with several other gentlemen, who know the country perfectly well, that in time of war the best thing we could endeavour to do, would be an attack on Quebec, especially at this season when we have a large force there, elated with their late success."[2] Wolff's victory in 1759 must have gratified Young to a considerable extent.

For the *Theatre* Young received books to the value of £10 from the publishers.[3]

The pamphlet, *On Affairs at Home and Abroad*, which appeared in the year 1759, was dedicated to William Pitt. It begins with a sharp censure of the English Government's actions with regard to Prussia in the Seven Years' War. As time goes on we become used to Young's attacks on Parliament, but his fierceness against the Duke of Cumberland finds no counterpart in his later life, when his enthusiasm for the English aristocracy amounts to little less than snobbery.

On page 1 of this pamphlet Arthur Young tells us that he " wrote to pleasure no particular party or faction." " Let any one take the trouble to look over a map of Germany," he writes,[4] " and I believe he will easily perceive that his P——n M——y[5] has very good cause of complaint against the conduct of the army of observation (a very good name !)" Troops, he considers, should never have been sent to Germany at all—particularly should the Government have avoided sending them under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, " whose only claim for so important a command is having an estate of fifty thousand pounds a year."[6]

It will be remembered that Cumberland refused to command the army unless Pitt was dismissed.

This kind of remark, however, is not particularly worthy of attention. Cumberland's defeat at Hastenbeck

1. *Theatre*, p. 51.
2. Referring to the English success at Louisburg in this year, 1758.
3. *Biographical Memoir*. J. A. Paris, p. 282.
4. *On the State of Affairs at Home and Abroad*, p. 11.
5. i.e., Prussian Majesty.
6. *On the State of Affairs*, p. 19.

on July 26th, 1757, and the subsequent Convention of Klosterzeven on September 10th, had brought the army of observation and its commander into sufficient general disrepute to make it possible for Young to write his remarks without fear of prosecution. Indeed, George II himself repudiated the Convention the following November.

A new subject is opened up on page 23. " . . The war we are now engaged in," writes Young, " was entered into entirely on account of our colonies ; which shows that we are at last come to know their value. . . . ! ! " This is a subject which will be discussed later.

From pages 27 and 28 we quote at length, because the material gives fair means for conjecture.

" Much has many times been said concerning the American colonies of Britain throwing off their dependence on their mother country ; but there has, in general, been a wrong notion formed on that point. The thing that breeds a jealousy between Britain and her colonies is not power but manufactures, in which they interfere with one another. And as the people increase, their manufactures and the necessity for them must increase likewise ; which will be the first cause of a rupture between that nation and her colonies if such a thing should happen. The only way to prevent this, if the people grow numerous in the colonies, is to put some other employments in their hands that may serve them instead of manufactures, and may make them depend upon Britain for the very means of their support."

The employments suggested for the colonists were the production of hemp and iron and the manufacture of wine.

In his remarks with regard to trade, Arthur Young is, of course, right. It has been definitely stated that Pitt had already considered lightening the trade burdens of the colonists without, however, granting them complete freedom in matters of commerce.[1] The prevention of discontent suggested by the young writer is reasoned fallacy. We shall find much more of this in the years to come.

In spite of this, the conclusion to the pamphlet is sound and well-conceived. Breaking into heavy type, the

1.—Dr. Wolfgang Michael in *William Pitt the Elder* : Camb. Mod. History. Vol. VI, Ch. xiii.

author says: "Another point to be settled at the next peace is . . . . THE UNION OF OUR COLONIES[1]. . . . The scheme I would propose is to unite all our colonies in the continent of North America together, to appoint one Viceroy over the whole, who should have the chief command of all the troops in his government: that there should be a small establishment of regular land forces as in Ireland: that there should be a parliament established consisting of members sent by all the colonies, . . . in all, 86."[2] And finally: "Some will object that the colonies would not submit to part with their charters; but every method ought to be taken to force a due obedience."[3]

It will be recognized that Young here puts forward a suggestion which forms the basis of British Colonial Government for a century to come—a method which, in the case of Ireland, persisted in a very great measure until 1922.

Already we are able to realize that the future writer on agriculture was even in his youth possessed of many qualities of mind which were destined to make him world-famous.

In this same year (1759), during the month of June, Arthur Young's father died. His son continued in business at Lynn, but although he published no more serious work, his novel-writing prevented him from taking sufficient interest in business to prosper at it. Two years later, therefore, he quitted the wine merchant. "I was twenty years old on leaving Lynn," he writes, "which I did without education, profession or employment."[4] He first drifted to Bath, where it seems that his skill at chess brought about his introduction to Sir Charles Howard, K.B., who offered him a commission in his own regiment.[5] Lack of private means and affection for his mother probably determined him against acceptance. One writer would have us believe

1. p. 39.
2. p. 42.
3. p. 44.
4. *Autobiography*. Ed. B. Edwards, p. 24.
5. Vide Pell, A. *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*. Vol. IV, p. 2.

that Arthur Young turned to agriculture because he was so much impressed by the turnip crop of Norfolk. " The turnip husbandry, the row-culture, irrigation and all the new improvements, floated in his mind by day and haunted his dreams by night."[1] We may not be entirely disposed to agree with this, but at all events Young turned to farming although he did not renounce his literary pursuits.

In January, 1762, against the advice of Dr. Johnson, he undertook the publication of a paper known as *The Universal Museum*, " or Gentlemen's and Ladies' Polite Magazine of History, Politics and Literature." It will be seen from the title that the author was not over-modest in his aims, and from his opening remarks he does not seem to have been downcast by Dr. Johnson's discouragement. Young dedicated his magazine to Queen Charlotte, and summed up the reasons for his publication in his first editorial.[2]

" Finding to my great surprize," he wrote, " that the inhabitants of this metropolis are, and for a long time have been daily, and almost hourly (as in the days of the ever memorable Mist, Ridpath and others), imposed upon by false taste—false wit—false humour—false reasoning—false learning—false religion—false politics—false judgment—false criticisms—false genius, or rather no genius at all, I—*the Author*—have dared (for their future safety and present recovery of their senses and understandings) to enter a volunteer on the *literary establishment*."

And surely everyone will agree that this is a bold, if rather breathless, beginning. We sympathize with Youngs' aims if not with his style.

To judge from the contents of the first numbers, the author tried every means to reach his Utopia. The first issue contained an account of Spain and the West Indies, the opening chapters of *A Tour through England* (p. 138), reviews of books and plays and an account of stocks. There are stories, skits and poems, and quite soon in the periodical's existence maps, engraved portraits and the musical score of songs were introduced.

1. *Annual Biography and Obituary*, 1821. Vol. V, p. 122.
2. *Universal Museum.* Vol. I, No. 1, p. 51.

In spite of the variety of its appeal, *The Universal Museum* was not a success, and Young was glad to dispose of it to the booksellers after the publication of six numbers.[1]

He continued, however, to write articles on agriculture, which appeared in the *Museum Rusticum* at various times during the years 1764-66, and in 1767 he made his first financial appeal with the publication of *A Letter to Lord Clive* on "The Great Benefits which may result to the Public from patriotically expending a small part of a large private fortune: Particularly in Promoting the Interests of Agriculture, by Forming an Experimental Farm." Young was not merely content to appeal; he also laid down the correct management, gave a plan of the buildings and estimated the cost and profits.

Before the appearance of this letter, Young married, in 1765, Miss Martha Allen, whose sister was the second wife of the celebrated Dr. Burney of Chelsea.[2] This fact is not the one mentioned by the husband. "My wife," he says, "was a daughter of Alderman Allen of Lynn, and great grand-daughter of John Allen, Esq., of Lyng House, Norfolk, who according to the Comte de Boulainvilliers, first introduced the custom of marling into the above-named county."[3]

Young is probably wrong with regard to marling, which was practised by the Ancient Britons, but from the point of view of modern husbandry it will stand. He, at all events, always maintained this opinion. It was the epitaph which he had graven on his wife's tombstone.

Immediately after the marriage, according to the Autobiography, "we boarded with my mother at Lynn." "At Bradfield," says Dr. Paris. Probably the bride and groom lodged with Mrs. Allen.

Writing from Bradfield Hall on December 24th, 1790,[4] at a time when he was recovering from a severe illness, Young says: "About thirty years ago I began my farming

1. *Biographical Memoir.* J. A. Paris, p. 282.
2. Ibid, p. 283.
3. *Autobiography*, p.32.
4. Vide *Annals of Agriculture.* Vol. XV, p. 154 et seq.

career, upon the lands which I occupy at present. I had about 300 acres hired of my mother. Young, eager and totally ignorant, trusting to a bailiff, who I conceive now, merited no confidence either for honesty or skill, it was not surprising that I squandered much money, under golden dreams of improvements: especially as I connected a thirst for experiment, without the knowledge of what an experiment demands, and which a series of proofs alone can give.[1] In a few years, a declining purse, with some domestic disputes from a mixture of families and the prudent caution of one of the best of mothers, to whose memory my heart would be dead were it not to beat with a more than grateful remembrance, altogether induced me to remove from Bradfield. I hired Sampford Hall in Essex,[2] a noble farm of 300 acres, including a range of meadows sufficient for 40 or 50 cows. A relation was to lend me money enough to make my capital sufficient: but he was himself disappointed in money matters within a few months after. I immediately foresaw that I should be utterly incapable of carrying on so large a business; the first loss was evidently the best. Mr. Yeldham, of Sulary, who let the farm for the proprietor, Mr. Stanton, procured me a farmer to take it off my hands on my paying him £100." Thus, for the want of two thousand or even one thousand pounds, Arthur Young was obliged to give up a very fine farm, for he continues: " Mr. Portway, who took it of me, has since made a fortune in it."

Young, however, is pressing ahead too quickly. There are several things of importance which we must mention before we can follow him away from Sampford Hall.

Speaking of the early years at Bradfield, he has elsewhere remarked that the only use which resulted to him

1.—It will be early remarked that Arthur Young was a man who could always find plenty of excuses for his failures and, usually, a scapegoat. Moreover, even when allowance is made for the illness which he had just experienced, the faults in his English are too great to escape censure. Perhaps we may console ourselves with the thought of Dr. Paris, who in his *Biographical Memoir* (vide supra, p. 2), says: " . . . It is a question whether the refinements of literature might not have changed its (his mind's) texture and composition, and repressed that vigour and boldness of thought, and strength of expression, which so prominently characterise his writings, and which break the even surface of his ordinary details, with an inequality of feeling, that is ever opposed to that of insipidity, which we so frequently experience in the writings of more polished scholars."

2.—1767.

from this period was that he was enabled to view the farms of other men with an eye of more discrimination.[1]

As has been previously mentioned,[2] his contributions to the *Museum Rusticum*, begun in the year 1764, were later reprinted as an appendix to the *Farmer's Letters*. Although Dr. Paris maintained that in these articles he treated several subjects connected with the farming interest " With much ability and success,"[3] yet it has been stated[4] that the author did not know a great deal about agricultural matters, and in later life he most certainly regretted their publication. At the time, however, they were well received by one of the leading agricultural authorities of the day, Walter Harte.[5]

In the British Museum are the original letters which he wrote to Arthur Young with regard to the papers published in the *Museum Rusticum*.

The first letter is dated February 3rd, 1765, and addressed to Arthur Young at Mrs. Allen's, at Lynn, in Norfolk.[6] Mrs. Allen, it will be remembered, was Young's mother-in-law.

Harte begins by thanking Young for the kind mention which he has made of the *Essays on Husbandry* in the *Museum Rusticum*, and he continues: " Kings and ministers look upon agriculture as only the *physical* means of supplying mankind with food ; nor does one glimpse of an idea ever enter their heads or hearts concerning the circulation of profit from the highest to the lowest resulting *from thence* . . . nor of the national strength, health, population, and I may say, the sobriety of getting money which results from *that art* when it is exercised and maintained in full activity. . . . France might till this time have languished

1. Vide *Autobiography*. Ed. B. Edwards, p. 30.
2. Vide supra, p. 12.
3. *Quarterly Journal of Science, etc.* Vol. IX, p. 283.
4. *Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. XXI (1917—).
5. The Rev. Walter Harte was tutor to Mr. Stanhope, Lord Chesterfield's son. Vide *Journal of Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Vol. IV, p. 5, Article by A. Pell (1893), and Arthur Hutton tells us that Harte was sucessively Vice-Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Canon of Windsor and Rector of St. Austell and St. Blazey in Cornwall. Vide *Tour in Ireland*. Vol. I, p. 11.
6. *British Museum Add. MSS.* 35,126—1.

for her enclosure of waste lands and her exportation of superfluous corn if a shrewd and artful Foreigner had not flattered a Fair Lady into a passion for Agriculture. The man I mean is Mr. Patullo. . . . . Since the times of Constantine IV to the present hour, I can recollect no Prince or Prime Minister who understood the natural advantages of husbandry in their full extent but Henry IV and Sully."

Harte's opinions had great weight with Young. It is therefore necessary to examine them.

Agriculture had been occupying the attention of men in France far more than Harte imagined. His story of Patullo and the "Fair Lady" has a counterpart in the introduction of Quesnay to Louis XV by Madame la Pompadour, but there is no doubt that Physiocratic ideals would have been widely spread even if it had not been for the doctor's presentation at Court.

When a school taught that the primary motive power of a state came direct from the land, agricultural matters were bound to come to the fore.

Several agricultural societies had been formed in the decade which preceded the publication of Young's articles.

The States of Brittany had established the Société d'Agriculture de Commerce et des Arts, in 1757, and the first sitting of this society took place in February of the same year.[1] Other societies followed quickly—that of Tours in 1761, of Montauban in 1762, and of Paris in 1764.[2]

According to Calonne these bodies failed in their object because they were unable to produce successful experiments to convince the peasants—always a difficult matter.[3] The failure of the Physiocrats was signalled by the final closing of all French ports to the export of grains in 1770[4], but these few remarks will be sufficient to show that agriculture in France was not so neglected as Harte would have Arthur Young to suppose.

1. Vide *Hist. de la Soc. d'Agri. de Comm. et des Arts établ. par les Etats de Bretagne* : Louis de Villers (1898).
2. Vide *Etude sur l'Agri. de la France.* J. H. Bonneton, p. 66 (1892).
3. Vide *La Vie Agricole sous l'Ancien Régime dans le Nord de la France.* Baron A. de Calonne, p. 48 (1885).
4. July 14th. Vide *Le Mouvement Physiocratique en France de* 1756-1770. G. Weulersse, Vol. I, p. 226 (1910).

On May 1st, 1765, Harte wrote again[1] " But why, my good friend, do you bury such dissertations as yours in Blue Paper Periodical Essays ?—or why rather do you not throw them together in one book or large pamphlet ? "

Sylvae begin with various accounts to prove the probable profits on arable and grass lands over a period of ten years.[2] The preference was given to pasture lands. This met with Harte's warm approval. " Every farmer," he wrote[3], " that rents no more than 60l. a year is a beggar if he employs himself on arable lands any further than to bring about a short interval of corn in order to deal thoroughly in pasturage." This is true in England to-day, where it does not pay the farmer to grow corn. More and more land is being given over to pasture, partly because the farmers cannot afford to pay the high wages demanded by the labourers' unions, and also because of the imports of foreign corn. In the *Daily Mail* of November 29th, 1928, Professor T. Wibberley, formerly Professor of Agricultural Research at the University College, Cork, complained of this importation. He wrote : " We arable farmers have during the past season harvested the first decent harvest for several years under ideal weather conditions. Our grain samples are splendid, and our hearts had been cheered by a slight though steady rise in prices since harvest time. But during the past fortnight, in country markets, wheat has not only dropped several shillings per quarter, but has become unsaleable due to the panic caused by the importation of German wheat into Bristol and East Coast markets. . . . . If we farmers have to face such competition as this, arable farming will completely vanish from the country."

One hundred and sixty-three years before, Arthur Young had proved the superiority of grassland by many years' experiment.

From the balance sheet we gather that if arable farming were persisted in the course of crops should be as follows : (1) Fallow, (2) Barley, (3) Clover, (4) Wheat, (5) Fallow,

1. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35, 126-2.
2. The edition referred to is the one published in 1767 : *The Farmer's Letters to the People of England and Sylvae.*
3. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35, 126-3.

(6) Wheat, (7) White Oats, (8) Tares and Turneps (*sic*), (9) Wheat and Barley.[1]

It is interesting to find that Arthur Young advocated fallowing so late as 1767. In a few years' time he became its most bitter opponent, and it was largely owing to his writings that a practice was overthrown which had existed in England for seven hundred years. Summer-fallowing for wheat, it seems, had been introduced into England by the Normans.[2]

There follows in *Sylvae*[3] an account of an experiment which the author made in 1763 with regard to the food, produce and expenses of a dairy of four cows during a year. Young estimates the profit at £16 12s. 4d. This in itself is unimportant, but what is of interest is the fact that the author has already begun to experiment and, most important of all, to report the results. Throughout his life his enthusiasm for experiment continued.

Arthur Young concludes this essay with a remark greatly appreciated by modern farmers and one which, it would seem, had not been definitely laid down before. "The chief remark to be made on these experiments is that the profit on hogs, in a dairy farm, is very considerable."[4] Young's researches in this direction led him to publish, in 1770, his *Essay on the Management of Hogs*, which it is proposed to consider later.

The next tract: *On the Improvement of Wet Pastures*, is unimportant, but it contains one remark which is of value. "Before I conclude this sketch," writes Young,[5] "I shall once for all apologize for the negligance of my language, and, perhaps unnecessary repetitions, but it appears to me that the *matter* in essays of this nature is infinitely more material than the style."

Before *Sylvae* were republished, Young appealed to Harte with regard to his style. The latter, whose literary knowledge must surely have been considerably inferior to his agricultural, replied as follows: "I am amazed that

1. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 203.
2. Vide *Modern Agriculture*. James Donaldson, p. 9.
3. p. 227.
4. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 238. The actual profit on the farm just mentioned was given as about £1 10s. 0d. (p. 227).
5. Ibid, p. 255.

you have so soon acquired the hardest point of all in writing, namely, perspicuity and ease of style." This was in March, 1767.[1] On Christmas Eve of the same year he wrote : " I will return your manuscript about New Year's Day and that with high approbation ; as it consists of exact calculations the stile (*sic*) wants no correction."[2]

Probably Dr. Paris was the only other critic who has ever had much to say in favour of Young's style. " His numerous works," he wrote, " are distinguished by vivacity of thought, quickness of imagination, bias to calculation and fondness for political speculation."[3]

Donaldson holds the exactly opposite opinion when he says : " His ideas do not seem to have been very practically clear on any point. The vision was too hastily decisive and the prospect dimmed by some crochetty opinion . . . The writings of Young are very carelessly performed and most unmethodically arranged."[4]

All these remarks, particularly the last two, are overstatements. For ourselves we are content to accept the brief criticism of a more moderate though anonymous author : " As a writer he was rather expeditious than elegant."[5] There is no doubt that like so many other writers, Young's style suffered through haste. The success which his early works met with certainly induced him to write and print too much and too fast. This point has already been made elsewhere.[6]

Arthur Young next deals with lucerne. He had experimented, and like many of his friends he was disappointed. He grew " three hundred of lucern hay (two acres), the value of which did not a twentieth part pay even the hoeing of the crop."[7] He was worried by this result because at that time, according to him, the only artificial grass in England was clover, and hence lucerne would be very valuable.

1. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35, 127-21.
2. Ibid, -36.
3. *Biographical Memoir.* Quoted by C. W. Johnson in his article on Arthur Young. *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture.* Vol. XIII (1842).
4. *Agricultural Biography.* John Donaldson, p. 56 (1854).
5. *Annual Biography and Obituary.* Vol. V, p. 129 (1821).
6. *European Magazine.* Vol. XII, p. 95 : Notice on Arthur Young.
7. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 264.

The question of artificial grasses was becoming of greater importance yearly. As far back as 1651 Hartlib, in his *Legacy of Husbandry*, had advocated the growing of sainfoin, trefoil, clover and lucerne.[1]

The Agricultural Society of Brittany turned to this matter immediately on its formation,[2] and we are glad that Young persisted with his trials with more fortunate results in succeeding years.

On Manuring Land at a Large Expence (*sic*) is the title of the next paper. The questions asked are firstly, if the expenses of carting manure from towns are too heavy when compared with the resulting crop, and secondly, if the money thus expended would not be better laid out in manuring from clay taken from the farmers' own ditches.

Both these matters were ancient. Even the original Britons had realized the value of marl and chalk as manure[3] and in Young's own time he had seen the vast improvements wrought in the light lands of Norfolk by the addition of some clay. Again the lords of the manors in England had in many cases insisted upon the villains and their inferiors folding their sheep in the manor lands.[4] Nevertheless, at this time, as M. Henri Sée points out, " Dans presque tous les pays le vice capital de l'agriculture, c'est le manque de bon fumier."[5]

Once more we find Arthur Young touching upon a question of vital importance right at the beginning of his career. He sums up all his experience in this matter in the *Essay on Manures*, published in 1804.

Jethro Tull is perhaps best known because of his introduction and championship of the drill husbandry. The New Husbandry, as he called it, led him, however, to such lengths that he stoutly denied any great benefits from manuring. " All sorts of dung and compost," he wrote,[6] " contain some matter which, when mixed with the soil,

1. Vide *A Short History of British Agriculture.* J. Orr, p. 55 (1922).
2. " La première question traitée dans l'Agriculture est celle des prairies artificielles, et du trèfle en particulier."
Histoire de la Soc. d'Agri. . . . de Bretagne Louis de Villers, p. 27 (1898).
3. Vide *A Short History of British Agriculture.* J. Orr, p. 30 (1922).
4. Ibid, p. 28.
5. *Esquisse d'une Histoire du Régime Agraire en Europe du XVIIIme et XIX siècles.* H. Sée, p. 38 (1921).
6. *The Horse-Hoeing Husbandry.* Jethro Tull (1733), Ed. W. Cobbett (1882) p. 47.

ferments therein, and by such ferment dissolves, crumbles and divides the earth very much ; this is the chief and almost only use of dung." There follows a long tirade against it and then, to sum up : " Dung without tillage can do very little, with some tillage it does something, with much tillage pulverizes the soil in less time than tillage can do ; but the tillage alone with more time can pulverize as well."[1]

Farmers are usually conservative. Calonne proves that those of the eighteenth century in France were no exception when he says : " Le semoir de Valioud de Laon, le semoir moins perfectionné de Thul (*sic*) n'obtiennent aucun succès malgré les recommendations des sociétés d'agriculture et bien qu'on puisse se les procurer à des prix abordables."[2]

In spite of this, however, we must remember that in general all land was under-manured at this period. In France, for example, Duhamel du Monceau vulgarised the teachings of Tull and endeavoured to convince farmers that tilling without manure was the sole basis of good husbandry.[3] This proves that Tull's work enjoyed a much greater popularity than was usual with books treating of agriculture, and it is interesting to note that even to-day there is a saying among Somersetshire farmers that an extra ploughing is worth a ton of manure per acre.

Perhaps this digression is over long, but the object of it is to show that it was high time for some intelligent person to occupy himself with the much neglected question of manuring land, a question which was linked up with the production of fodder and the rotation of crops.

There follows an essay upon the reasons why farming so often proves unprofitable. " Even a low and easy rent," writes Young, " will seldom remedy the want of money at setting out."[4] We know that he believed this to be the reason of his lack of success at Sampford Hall.[5] In thus stating the necessity of capital, Young was supporting the

1. *The Horse-Hoeing Husbandry*, p. 52.
2. *La Vie Agricole sous l'Ancien Régime, etc.* Baron A. de Calonne, p. 94.
3. Vide *Etude sur l'Agri. de la France.* J. H. Bonneton, p. 58.
4. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 287.
5. Vide supra, p. 13.

teaching of the Physiocrats, who maintained that the chief thing required to better agriculture in France was more money. Poverty, more than laziness, they held, was the real cause of the depreciation of land.[1]

Additional causes for failure are given as over-tilling, under and over-stocking.[2] With regard to the first, Young enlarges on what he has already proved by calculation.[3] "The unprofitable practice of ploughing up pastures, and not laying them down again, which is so universal in this country among farmers, whenever their landlords will allow it, tends perpetually to impoverish them. They are all, to a man, mad after ploughed lands, and would willingly break up every acre of grass on their farms. . . . Two-thirds of the land of a farm in a rich country should be grass." Quesnay had already made a similar statement in his article *Fermiers*.[4]

Finally, in summing up he says: "But it surely appears plainly, from what I have said, that the unprofitableness of farming is scarcely ever owing to the art itself, but the mistakes of those who practice it." When the agriculturalists of England to-day are so loud in their condemnation of the Government, they might do well to ponder awhile on this last remark.

The final paper is entitled *Upon the Usefulness of Acquiring a Knowledge of Foreign Practices in Husbandry, etc.* Because of this viewpoint Arthur Young is entitled to universal approval. We have already seen how necessary a spread of knowledge was at the time, by reason of Walter Harte's extraordinary ignorance of the real state of affairs in France. When a writer on husbandry was so faulty in his information, it is not to be wondered at that the common farmers, besides being unacquainted with the practices of

1. Vide *Le Mouvement Physiocratique en France*. G. Weulersse. Vol. I, p. 322 et seq. "Ce qui manquait le plus à l'agriculture française c'était donc des richesses, ou, comme nous disons aujourd'hui, des capitaux." p. 333.

2. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 290.

3. Ibid, p. 298.

4. "En Angleterre on reserve beaucoup de terres pour procurer de la nourriture aux bestiaux. Il y en a une quantité prodigieuse dans cette île, et le profit en est si considérable que le seul produit des laines est estimé à plus de 160 millions. La vente des grains forme le quart du commerce intérieur de l'Angleterre et le produit des bestiaux est bien supérieur à celui des grains." Collection des Économistes, Vol. *Physiocrats*, p. 233. Weulersse: *Le Mouvement Physiocratique*. Vol. I, p. 346.

other countries, were also in ignorance of the methods used in parts of England other than their immediate surroundings.

Young held that in England agriculture was carried to a greater perfection than in any other country of Europe.[1] Like many of his contemporaries, however, he held China to be the country where agriculture was best practised, and this remark which he makes with regard to Prussia is hardly borne out by historical fact. " The peasants (in Prussia) are reported to be as happy as in most parts of Europe excepting our own, and that owing to the amazing regularity of government and the strict execution of justice."[2]

In this same tract, Young emphasises the necessity for an agricultural journal—an ideal which he realized when the *Annals of Agriculture* began to appear in 1784, and he states moreover : " It is to me surprising that among the men of sense and reflection who have travelled and published their remarks, so few have thought agriculture worthy of their observations."[3] To the fact that he realized this deficiency in the work of travellers both previous and contemporary, Arthur Young owes a great claim to fame, because it is as an agriculturalist that he is most famous. We have only to read the works of such men as Pococke, Luckombe, Head, Campbell, Holmes, Mavor, Pennant and even Daniel Defoe, in order to become fully sensible to the justice of this remark.

Finally Young laid down a plan of conduct for anyone travelling with an object of viewing agriculture on the Continent which, as Miss Betham Edwards has already pointed out,[4] he followed very consistently himself during his tours in France, Spain and Italy. The proposed itinerary was, however, considerably wider than that which he was himself able to accomplish, including as it did

1. Vide *Farmer's Letters*, p. 303.
2. Contrast *Prussia under Frederick William I* ; Dr. Emil Daniels, *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI ; and *Frederick the Great and His Successor*, by the same author in the same work. " The Prussian peasant was induced by his forced labour to put no heart into his work. . . . . King Frederick could only with difficulty prevent the large estates from swallowing up the peasant properties."
3. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 308.
4. Arthur Young's *Travels in France*. Ed. M. Betham Edwards, intro. p. xl (1905).

Holland, Flanders, Gallicia, Valencia, Sicily, Turkey in Europe, Austria, Germany, Poland, Russia and the Baltic States.

With this magnificent ideal of travel we may leave Young's first literary work on agriculture. We have seen enough of it to know that both the subjects with which he dealt and the manner in which he treated them showed great promise. From his later life and works we shall be enabled to judge how this promise was fulfilled.

CHAPTER II.

Young's depression as a result of his early failures. Births of his three children, 1766, 1768, 1769. *The Farmer's Letters to the People of England*, 1767—the author not a Physiocrat—suggested agricultural improvements—encouragements for agriculture—Importance of Young's suggestions—the Corn Bounty—need for championship of the corn trade—size of farms—grass and arable land—courses of crops—the use of oxen instead of horses—pleas for experiments with lucerne, burnet, carrots and cabbages—Young's use of statistics—population—workhouses—censure of tea-drinking—the probability of American Independence discussed. *Rural Oeconomy*, 1770—"Of the New Husbandry—Of Experimental Agriculture."

It is but natural that the failure at Sampford Hall and the non-success of the *Universal Museum* should have depressed Arthur Young. Unfortunately his young wife was able to do nothing to improve matters. Dr. Paris writes: "Mrs. Young possessed all the attractions of person, the accomplishments of mind, and the excellence of heart to have rendered her a suitable companion for Arthur Young, but it proved to be the very reverse of a happy union . . . ."[1] How far this is true may be judged by an extract from a letter written by Young himself to his wife three years after their marriage. "An ill star rose on my nativity; had I never been born it would have been just so much the better for me, for you and our wretched children, and if anybody was to knock me on the head it would be . . . . favour done to you all three."[2]

The children referred to here are his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, born in 1766 and 1768 respectively. Arthur, the only son, was born in 1769.

His bitter experiences at Sampford Hall seem to have so soured him with agriculture that he considered taking up another profession. A letter dated 17th October, 1765, from the Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Grafton, speaks of Young's fitness for the position of a schoolmaster.[3]

1. *Biographical Memoir*, p. 283.
2. *Brit. Mus. MSS.* 35,126-34.
3. Ibid. -17.

Fortunately for British farming, if not for his existing state of mind, Young was not appointed to the post.

This, however, was not until after the publication of the *Farmer's Letters to the People of England.*

It will be noticed that this book was not addressed to the farmers but to the general public. In doing this, it is probable that Young was largely influenced by Walter Harte, who had strongly advised him against appealing directly to agriculturalists.[1] Apart from this, the ideas and actual writing were Young's own. Harte disclaimed any hand in these matters.[2]

Even as *Sylvae*, the *Farmer's Letters* are of much interest because Young treats of so many subjects which were important both in themselves and for the influence which they were afterwards to exercise on the writer.

At the beginning, Young remarks:[3] "Agriculture is beyond all doubt the foundation of every other Art, business or profession." Borrowing, as he admits, from Montesquieu, he refers to agriculture as "that greatest of all manufacturers." We cannot, however, classify the Young of this period simply as a Physiocrat. As M. Weulersse writes: "La proposition fondamentale des Physiocrats, celle sur laquelle repose l'édifice entier de leur système, c'est que l'agriculture est seule productrice de richesse."[4]

Now Young by no means goes as far as this. He does not deny the usefulness of manufactures, but he considers that agriculture should have first place in the cares of the Government. We may let him sum up his teaching on this subject in his own words.

"Enabling our manufacturers to sell their goods cheap to foreigners is undoubtedly a wise measure—but it ceases

1. Vide *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126-15. "Who would write for farmers who perhaps cannot read, or who, I am sure, will never try to read?"
2. Loc. cit.
3. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 3.
4. *Le Mouvement Physiocratique en France.* Vol I, p. 243.

to be such when effected (supposing it ever was) by cramping the sale of the produce of our lands."[1]

The parenthesis is almost pathetic in view of Young's later outcry against the statesmen for considering the manufacturing interests before those of agriculture.

It is natural enough that in this essay Young should make a few suggestions with regard to agricultural improvements. In particular he treats of waste lands. He estimates these to amount to not less than fifteen million acres,[2] a very great number of which could be improved. For instance, if sheep walks were marled and limed at the cost of £3 an acre, the rental value per acre might reasonably be expected to increase from one shilling to as much as nine or ten shillings.[3] The author is sensible that such a proceeding will most certainly throw a number of wool spinners out of work, but he airily dismisses this objection by stating that these may easily find new employment in scaring crows and doing other jobs about the new farm. A small matter perhaps, but typical of Young's intolerance. As Lavergne remarks, perhaps a little euphemistically, in his introduction to the *Voyages en France*, " He never knew any doubts."

In the second letter, Young writes of encouragements to agriculture, and before dealing with them one remark is necessary. We do not wish to put Arthur Young forward as being original in his belief with regard to the importance of agriculture. This fact had been realized and stated before 1767 by many writers, including Montesquieu[4] and Petty[5] besides the Physiocrats. The chief point is that before Young took the field few steps had been taken to improve agriculture in itself. Clear-headed men had pointed out various handicaps under which farming suffered, but, when it came to the actual treatment of the soil, the methods followed were very much those of Virgil and Columella.[6]

1. *Farmer's Letters.* p. 19, cf. Ibid, p. 22 : " Be it ever remembered, the wise policy in all cases is to *harmonize* agriculture and manufacture."
2. Ibid. p. 5.
3. Ibid. p. 8.
4. *Esprit des lois.*
5. *Treatise of Taxes.*
6. Vide *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming.* R. E. Prothero, p. 37.

In Letter 2 Arthur Young takes a stand which he maintained firmly during the whole of his life. Export of corn, he maintains, is beneficial, and even exportation of corn with a bounty. The first bounty, as he points out, was established in 1689 and " Wheat has been cheaper the last ninety-five years since the bounty commenced, than it was for seventy-four years before,"[1] while the export of corn had increased from one million eight thousand to fifteen million eight thousand pounds sterling between the periods 1697-1706 and 1746-1765.[2]

There was need for this championship of the corn trade. As M. Weulersse has pointed out, the situation of the corn market in general was abnormal during the years 1767-68. Corn was dear in Italy, there was famine in Sicily, America had nothing to send to Europe, and England, after a century of export, had opened her markets to imports.[3] In France the crop of 1766 had been bad and that of 1767 practically non-existent.[4] It is little wonder, therefore, that agriculture was occupying general attention, and Young's publication could scarcely have come at a better time. British agriculture, never seriously hit, recovered, but in France the two bad harvests and the mediocre one of 1768 led eventually to the overthrow, by the decree of December 23rd, 1770,[5] of all the Physiocrats had so carefully built up, and French agriculture was crippled until after the Revolution.

We do not pretend that Arthur Young was responsible for preventing a similar unhappy result in England, but it is most certainly obvious that he was creditably alive to the danger of the situation.

The next subject treated by Young is the size of farms from the economic point of view. He divides farms into

1. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 35.
2. Ibid. p. 42.
3. *Le Mouvement Physiocratique en France*. G. Weulersse, Vol. II, p. 600.
4. Ibid. p. 616.
5. " Sont officiellement rétablies : l'enregistrement obligatoire pour les marchands (Art. Ier) ; le contrôle de la police sur les sociétés de marchands (Art. 2) ; l'interdiction aux fermiers et laboureurs d'acheter des grains, sauf pour les semailles, et l'interdiction, aux meuniers et boulangers d'en vendre (Art. 5) ; l'interdiction de tout commerce de blés en dehors des marchés (Art. 6) ; enfin la défense d'enarrher les blés en vert (Art. 7). Cet arrêt definitif allait être strictement appliqué." Loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 596.

four classes. Firstly those which only employ two horses ; secondly, those employing four ; thirdly, those with from six to twelve, and finally the ones which have to their working any number of horses from twelve to a hundred.[1] On good lands he is in favour of the third class, maintaining at the same time that this type is the most beneficial to population because it employs more married labourers than even the great class which, being more widely scattered, rely very much on hired labour.[2] This latter is of course a very weak argument, because the larger the estate the greater is the probability of the people who work on it living in their own houses, but it is typical of the way in which Arthur Young can bolster up an untenable theory.

Young objects to small farms ; he considers their occupiers " very miserable men," and can " see no reason to rank the little farmer above the day labourer."[3] It is interesting to remember that the smallness of the holdings was, twenty years later, one of Young's chief complaints with regard to French agriculture. The author, however, is sensible that small holdings must be of greater benefit than any other to landlords, provided that building be not overdone, since they let at a much higher rate per acre.

The relative value of grass and arable lands next occupies the writer. Continuing the argument, already set down in *Sylvae*,[4] he emphasises the necessity for pasture lands. " Half the lands of a farm," he writes, " but more particularly of a small or middling one, ought to be grass."[5] If it were not for the problem of population, Young would have wished the small and medium farmers to devote themselves entirely to grass.[6]

Young next treats of the way in which the arable land is to be used. Here is the suggested course of crops :— (1) Beans, (2) Black Oats, (3) Barley, (4) Turnips, (5) Wheat,

1. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 56.
2. Ibid. p. 77.
3. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 72, cf. *Tour through the East of England*, Vol. III, p. 390, Towards Axminster " it is very observable that the little farms are more than double the rate per acre of the large ones ; if the buildings, therefore are no larger than necessary, it is plain that small farms pay a landlord much better than large ones."
4. Vide supra.
5. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 99.
6. " I conclude, therefore, that it is infinitely more profitable to the little farmer to occupy an entire farm of grass, than have anything to do with a plough." (*Farmer's Letters*, p. 88).

(6) Pease, (7) Clover lay 1 year old, (8) Clover lay 2 years old.[1]

It is very interesting to note that the fallow of the course suggested two years previously in *Sylvae* has now disappeared, to be replaced by clover.

The next subject is of considerable interest and may be conveniently taken in detail at this point. On page 104, Arthur Young strongly advocates the use of oxen instead of horses, on the grounds that they are cheaper, can be fatted subsequently for sale as beef, and only require one man for every ten head, as opposed to the needs of one man to look after every four or five horses. The chief objection to oxen is, of course, their slowness, but Young will not admit this. He writes: "I have experienced in several soils that where a pair of horses plough an acre a day, a yoke of oxen has always done the same."[2] The chief advantages which would follow the general use of oxen are given as follows. Firstly the farmer would be able to grow more corn on cleaner fields; secondly, the price of butcher's meat would be lowered; thirdly, there would result to the Kingdom an increased export of corn.[3]

Young continued firm in upholding the superiority of oxen for many years. Only with the utmost reluctance would he modify the above exaggerated statements; nothing would make him withdraw them. Nearly twenty years later he bluntly remarks: "I am no friend to the horse at all,"[4] and throughout the English tours he is always ready to impress upon the reader how successful it is possible to make tillage with oxen, at Gosfield for example,[5] at Stowe,[6] at Tinterden[7] and in the Vale of Taunton Dean.[8]

In the *Farmers' Guide to the Hiring and Stocking Farms*, 1770, the author reiterates one of the opinions just given.

1. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 102.
2. Ibid, p. 107.
3. Loc. cit.
4. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. VI, p. 489.
5. *A Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties*, p. 62.
6. Ibid. p. 105.
7. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. II, p. 94.
8. *Tour through the East of England*, p. 417.

" A yoke of good oxen," he writes, " will plough an acre of land in a day as well as a pair of horses."[1]

When he sums up the results of the Northern tour, Arthur Young treats the matter with considerable care. " In the comparison between horses and oxen," he remarks, " the balance of opinions is much in favour of the latter."[2] To his mind, the only objection to oxen is that they take an extra two hours a day to do the work. Four pages later he contradicts this in an endeavour to refute Mirabeau.[3] " What would M. de Mirabeau say," he demands, " if I informed him that I used ox teams for plowing in Suffolk, of only two oxen to a plough, that equalled my best horses in quantity of work performed per diem ; did it in the same hours ; in a better manner ; and at a less rate per acre, the driver included. The oxen cost £15 a pair and they out-plowed horses of £30 a pair."[4]

Mirabeau might well have replied, had he chosen, that his opponent's experience was very exceptional and that, in admitting oxen to be rapidly going out of favour, he had, in a sense, spiked his own guns.

Young endeavoured to increase the speed of oxen by putting them in harness and, before dismissing this question as being among his lost causes, it is only fair to remark that he was supported in a large measure by the famous Coke, of Holkham.[5] While as late as February, 1926, a photograph of harnessed oxen ploughing appeared in some of the English illustrated papers. We cannot, however, accept the statement made by a Frenchman of the early nineteenth century that Young succeeded in ousting the horse altogether.[6]

1. *Tour through the East of England*, p. 170. Another argument in favour of oxen is their relative cheapness—62½ per cent. cheaper than horses (*Tour through the East of England*, Vol IV. p. 273).
2. *Tour through the North of England*, Vol. IV, p. 144.
3. " Dans la grande culture un homme seul conduit une charrue tirée par chevaux, que fait autant de travail que trois charrues tirées par des boeufs et conduites par six hommes." *L'ami des hommes*, t. VI, p. 91.
4. *Tour through the North of England*, Vol. IV, p. 144.
5. Vide *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. II, p. 375.
6. *Biographie Universelle et Portative*, p. 1617. " D'après ses conseils, on a substitué au cheval le boeuf, qui se fatigue moins et qui aussi plus utile après sa mort."

The succeeding letters deal with various crops and suggested experiments in them. Such are lucerne, burnet, carrots, the turnip-cabbage, wheat and grass seeds, the latter of which is described as " an untrodden field." No experiment," adds Young, " has been made on separated grass seeds."[1] We have noticed already that the writer was as yet ignorant of the activities of the Agricultural Society of Brittany, which had extended in this direction.[2] No one is better aware of general and particular lack of knowledge than the author. He condemns the previous collections of agriculture as " the most pernicious books that are published,"[3] complaining that in all there are " remarks and conclusions so that we have only the author's reflections instead of the authority which enabled him to reflect."[4]

Young rightly insists on the need for careful experiment fostered by premiums. " I am well persuaded that (under the Royal Society) in a dozen years a complete knowledge might be gained of any point in husbandry at present unknown."[5] " How strange is it," he complains, " that of all the thousand books of agriculture with which we swarm, not one can answer this plain question : what is the profit of a crop of wheat ? "[6]

Critics have constantly objected to Arthur Young's excessive use of statistics, but when we realize how greatly he was handicapped himself at the beginning of his career because of the lack of them, we cannot wonder at his enthusiasm for arithmetical proof, nor fail to understand that in carefully tabulating his observations and experiments he was doing an unprecedented favour to agriculture.

In Letter 7, Arthur Young treats another of his favourite subjects for the first time—population. He is occupied

1. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 124.

2. " La Bretagne manquait alors de fourrage, et cette disette provenait du manque absolue de prairies naturelles. La Charlotais porta d'abord toute son attention sur cet objet, cherchant les plantes et le mode de culture les plus convenables à la formation des prairies artificielles. Il jeta les yeux sur le trèfle."

Hist. de la Soc. d'Agri. de Bretagne, L. de Villers, p. 28 : Shortly after the publication of the *Farmer's Letters* Young became acquainted with the work of La Charlotais, as we learn from the Tours in England (e.g., Eastern Vol. IV, p. 347). In a note on page 416 of *Rural Oeconomy*, he mentions " *Observations by the Soc. of Agri. in Bretagne*—an invaluable collection."

3. Ibid. p. 146. 4.—Ibid. p. 148. 5.—Ibid. p. 128.

6. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 124.

with the injustice of the heavy poor rates, and suggests that to take their place "houses of industry"[1] should be established throughout the Kingdom, which would serve the purpose of taking care of the poor and at the same time relieve the pockets of the ratepayers very considerably. Speaking of existing conditions, he says: "I therefore clearly determine that the present laws relative to the support of the poor are universally encouragers of idleness, drunkenness and tea-drinking among them; and that, as such, they are highly pernicious to the welfare of the Kingdom."[2]

How Workhouses were ultimately established as Young wished is a matter of history.

It is not suggested that Arthur Young initiated the plea for workhouses. These had to all intents and purposes been established by law in 1722.[3] It is, however, maintained that he was right in what he advocated, and that his opinions were in advance of his times.

Cooper published a work on Charitable Institutions and the Poor Laws in 1763, and it is generally accepted that in 1764 workhouses, though faulty, were in a great measure successful.[4] Eighteen years later Gilbert's Act commented on the negligence and inefficiency of overseers and also the misappropriation of funds.[5]

In later years Arthur Young took extensive notes on the workhouses which he encountered, and on the whole was satisfied with what he saw.[6]

We are apt to form our opinion of early English workhouses from *Oliver Twist.* Before condemning Arthur Young as being fantastically hopeful we should remember

1. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 173.
2. Ibid, p. 171.
3. 9 George I, Cap. 7: "An Act for Amending the Laws relating to the Settlement, Employment and Relief of the Poor." "The churchwardens and overseers of the poor are moreover empowered, with the consent of the vestry, ' to purchase or hire any house or houses, and to contract with any persons for the lodging, keeping, maintaining and employing any or all such poor persons in their respective parishes, etc., as shall desire to receive relief, and there to keep, maintain and employ all such poor persons, and take the benefit of their work, labour and service.' " Vide *History of the English Poor Law.* G. Nicholls, pp. 12, 13, 14 (1898).
4. Ibid. p. 62.
5. Ibid. p. 83.
6. *Annals of Agriculture,* Vol. XXVI, p. 237 et seq.: Favourable report on nine Houses of Industry.

that in 1814 superintendents were forbidden to use corporal punishment or to lock up an inmate for more than twenty-four hours.[1]

The report of a Committee of Enquiry in 1817 mentioned that great benefit had been derived from workhouses, and the Select Vestry Act of 1819 provided for more of them.[2]

It will be noticed that the tea-drinking is numbered among the capital vices. Young's persistence in maintaining this to be a great evil is an amusing instance of his obstinacy. In this same letter he remarks " It has been asserted, and I believe on very good authority, that excessive tea-drinking is of more fatal consequence to the encrease of the human species than even the immoderate use of spirituous liquors." In the English Tours tea-drinking is frequently mentioned,[3] and if the labourers indulge in it Young is willing to condemn them at once as being worthless. When he sums up the results of his tour through the Eastern Counties, he maintains that tea-drinking is the chief cause of the high rates and heavy cost of labour,[4] and finishes by saying : " I would have industry enforced among the poor and the use of tea restrained."[5] Thus we have fine political economy and ridiculous prejudice appearing side by side in the same sentence.

Two more obstacles to the increase of population are pointed out : The frequently recurring one of lack of houses for the poorer folk[6] and also emigration.[7] Young wishes the waste lands of Britain to be reclaimed before the Empire indulges in colonization, a subject more fully treated in *Observations on the Waste Lands of Great Britain*— and this in turn leads him to a consideration of the relations with the American colonies.[8] The reasons which had

1. 54 Geo. III, Cap. 170, Sec. 7. Vide *History of the English Poor Law* pp. 147—149.
2. Ibid, p. 183.
3. e.g., *Tour through the Southern Counties*, p. 210.
   Tour through the North, Vol. III, p. 339.
4. Vol. IV, p. 351.
5. Vol. IV, p. 365.
6. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 173.
7. Ibid. p. 191.
8. Ibid. p. 195.

been brought forward against the probability of these colonies declaring their independence were firstly, the fact that the widely scattered provinces were too much split up into separate states and, secondly, that independence was not to be expected until the Continent was well peopled. It would naturally take many centuries to accomplish this.

Arthur Young disagrees. Because of the effects of the Stamp Act and the rapid growth of population, " I think," he writes, " we have no reason to believe the objections of weight enough to bear down the *natural course of things*." Once more subsequent events proved him to be right with regard to American affairs.

The only remedies to prevent war which he can suggest are foolish, but do not strike us as surprising in view of his headstrong nature. He would stop emigration, prevent the establishment of any manufactures which would interfere with those of England, establish " two or three strong forts," and engage the colonists in shipbuilding, iron-mining, vine-growing and the production of silk.[1]

Young fails to realize that in this work he has advocated two things which economically were almost diametrically opposed the one to the other. He wishes for a bounty on the export of corn, and at the same time he beseeches farmers to lay down more of their land in grass. It was the eighteenth century bounties on corn export which brought the farmers from pasturage to tillage.[2]

Rural Oeconomy, as we have seen, was first established in 1770—that is to say, after the tours through the South and North of England. It is, however, proposed to treat briefly of this work here, embodying the remainder with the matter considered in examination of the tours. The reason for this is the following. Young himself explains that he had several essays intended for the *Museum Rusticum* when that journal ceased publication, and that

1. *Farmer's Letters*, p. 198.
2. *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*. R. E. Prothero, p. 42.

they were ultimately embodied in the *Farmer's Letters* and *Rural Oeconomy*.[1]

Incidentally, he thinks that the failure of the periodical was due to its anonymity and insists on the need for some journal. Of other papers dealing with agriculture he says : " Some are anonymous, some trifling, and all the jobs of booksellers who decide their fate and their duration. What can be expected from such ! "[2]

Speaking of Arthur Young, Prothero has said : " He possessed great talents for description but little power of generalization."[3] Perhaps it is a little difficult to decide what is meant by " generalization," but if it means the ability to sum up the result of observations, then Prothero is definitely wrong. In general, Young followed out the plan which he sets down at the beginning of *Rural Oeconomy* : " The following essays are designed to explain many parts of this general management, and to attempt to reduce multifarious, fugitive subjects to some degree of order and even principles. This design, whether meritorious or not, is new. . . . So extremely barren do I find my collection of books on husbandry on this subject, that upon revision of these papers, I venture to assure the reader, no book ever published has afforded me a single page."

Apart from this, the manner in which Young tabulated the results of the Northern and Eastern Tours will be sufficient to prove the unreliability of Prothero's statement.

When one ignores the subjects written about in the tours the most interesting of these essays are numbers nine and ten : " Of the New Husbandry "[4] and " Of Experimental Agriculture."[5]

In number nine the author remarks that the spirit of drilling died with Tull, and was not put in motion again until within a few years of the publication of the essays. " The point," he adds, " remains absolutely in dispute."

1. Vide *Tour through the East of England*, intro. p. xvii.
2. *Rural Oeconomy*, p. 371.
3. *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*, p. 63.
4. *Rural Oeconomy*, p. 311.
5. Ibid. p. 349.

The principal difficulty in the way of progress was the insufficiency of the drill ploughs : the chief iniquities of the system the disuse of manure and successive croppings for wheat. On the whole, Young only commends drilling with certain plants, namely, beans, turnips and cabbages.

The subjects suggested for experiment are the New Husbandry, beans, pease, turnips, carrots, cabbages, clover, manure, artificial grasses and farm implements.[1] The book concludes with a translation of the *Rural Socrates*— W. Hirzel, 1764.

For the rest of the ideas embodied in *Rural Oeconomy* the reader is referred to the consideration of the English tours, for which we shall pass to another chapter.

1. *Rural Oeconomy*, pp. 359—360.

CHAPTER III.

The English tours: *The Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales*, 1768; *A Six Months' Tour through the North of England*, 1769; *A Farmer's Tour through the East of England*. Reasons for the *Six Weeks' Tour*. Young's opinion of the English tours. The Norfolk husbandry. General criticisms of these tours. The question of courses of crops—poor ones—good ones—the ideal. The disposal of a farm. Fallow crops—turnips and clover—beans—method of sowing beans and pease. Drilling. Potatoes. Cabbages. Carrots. Clover, lucerne, sainfoine, burnet. Best quantity of seed per acre. Horses. Cattle and sheep—Bakewell and Coke—improvements in stockbreeding—Young's preference for large stocks of cattle—his opinions on sheep-farming—his endeavours to counter disease. Grasslands. Manures.

"The first Tour I published," writes Young[1] (the *Six Weeks' Tour through the South of England*), "was the result of my viewing farms, for which I then advertised. With the advice of my Suffolk bailiff, I fixed on one of 100 acres in Herts.[2] I myself, no wonder, as well as he, was deceived in the soil, from seeing it in a season uncommonly favourable. But other years showed it in a true light. I know not what epithet to give the soil; sterility falls short of the idea. A hungry, vitriolic gravel, I occupied for nine years the jaws of a wolf. A nabob's fortune would sink in the attempt to raise good arable crops upon any extent of such country. . . . I hardly wonder at a losing account, after fate had fixed me (determined as I was to have good crops) upon land calculated to swallow without return, all that folly or imprudence could bestow upon it."

"It may naturally be asked," he continues in a note, "why I did not go to land decisively good? It was on account of the houses; for though I saw farms that would have suited well, they had wretched hovels on them. I hired a very neat and small house that suited the views of œconomy I removed with. The proprietor had spent above 1000 l. upon it.

In this period I made and published my other Tours, and other works of much inferior merit; which I was

1. *Annals of Agriculture*. Vol. XV, pp. 155, 156.
2. Bradmore Farm, North Mimms.

tempted to do from the success that my former had met with, and perhaps no author ever experienced more strongly than I did the ill-effects of writing and printing a great deal too much and too fast ; for I did everything possible to *write myself down* ; and indeed effected it in a great measure, as far as booksellers' ideas are annexed to that term. My Tours, which I believe were the first travelling enquiries into agriculture that have been made public, stood and I trust will continue to remain on a sounder foundation. To them I may, with a vanity perhaps somewhat excusable, assert that the agriculture of this Kingdom owes much ; and that many of the improvements now practised with the greatest success may be dated from the publication of those journeys, so often plundered rather than quoted, without a mark or atom of acknowledgement."

A Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales was published in 1768, the same year that it took place. *A Six Months' Tour through the North of England*, 4 volumes, appeared in 1770, and *A Farmer's Tour through the East of England* (1770), 4 volumes, was given to the public in 1771.

It is natural that the first-named tour should be the least important, because of its shortness, the fact that Young was really looking for a farm himself, and also because there is no general summing up of knowledge gained. It is, however, by no means to be disregarded. Young says of it : " Till my work appeared, nothing of that (Norfolk) husbandry was known beyond the county. The publication excited great interest, and became unquestionably the origin of many and great improvements in various parts of the Kingdom."[1]

1. *Arthur Young* : *Autobiography*, Ed. M. Betham Edwards, p. 44. Young was not entirely single in his praise of Norfolk husbandry. While admitting that its merits by far outweighed its defects (*Tour through the East of England*, Vol. II, p. 162), he points out the following matters of which he does not approve. Firstly, the fact that the pease, wheat and beans are never regularly hand hoed ; secondly, that there is no chopping of stubble ; thirdly, that the meadows and natural pasturages are managed in a slovenly way ; fourthly, that the breed of sheep and horses is poor ; fifthly, that no carrots are grown, whereas there is much suitable land ; and finally, " all their hedges managed on the old sad system of cutting off live wood and supplying the place with dead : no plashing." The following remark from the *Tour through the Southern Counties*, p. 29, is also interesting : " I must not forget to tell you that the French account of the Norfolk husbandry, which M. de Boulainvilliers has introduced into his *Les Intérests de la France Mal-entendus* (sic), t. I, p. 136, is full of mistakes, and in darticular where it mentions the vast improvement by lucerne . . ."

Briefly, the Norfolk husbandry was the four-course system introduced by Lord Townshend of Rainham, which meant, generally speaking, the interchange of green crops with cereals. " Among the improvements adopted by Townshend," writes Prothero, " was the practice of marling." The same author gives the field cultivation of turnips and clover as this nobleman's greatest achievement.[1]

One writer has said : " It is difficult to say upon what points his (Young's) English tours best deserve one's commendation ; whether for the store of practical agriculture which they present, or for the vast and important information they afford on subjects of political economy."[2]

Albert Pell writes : " He has left us a view of the condition, habits and pursuits of the people of all classes in his day, such as has scarcely a parallel in English literature"[3]

Young himself considered the agricultural part of his researches by far the most important. " In these works I particularly attended to the course of the farmers' crops, the point perhaps of all others the most important, and the more so at that period, because all preceding writers had neglected it in the most unaccountable manner."[4]

It is evident that Arthur Young was very much alive to the importance of his work, but since we are about to endeavour to prove its value ourselves it is quite satisfactory to continue with his own words.

" Nothing in the least similar to it had appeared in the English language ; for though there had been a tour of Great Britain and other tours through a great part of the Kingdom, yet all these works agreed in one circumstance—that of the authors confining their attention to towns and seats, without paying any more thought to agriculture than as if that art had no existence between the towns they visited. Indeed, my work was admitted on all hands to be perfectly original."[5] A critic wrote that Young was " the first modern author who stimulated that noble march

1. *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*, pp. 42-46. It will be remembered that marling was known even to the Ancient Britons. Vide supra pp. 12, 19.
2. *Biographical Memoir of Arthur Young*, J. A. Paris, p. 286.
3. Article on Arthur Young, *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England* Vol. IV, p. 23.
4. *Arthur Young* : *Autobiography*, Ed. M. Betham Edwards, p. 30.
5. Ibid. p. 54.

of improvement of which we are now happily reaping the advantage."[1]

Thus are we prepared for the importance of the English tours and " the most magical influence which they produced upon the agriculture of England."[2]

Firstly, then, let us turn our attention to the manner in which Arthur Young deals with courses of crops in his English Tours. Nearly everywhere he reports on the local custom and the tours are riddled with lists. We can afford to ignore the majority of these and concentrate our attention firstly on those which he declared to be bad ; secondly, on those he particularly praised ; and finally, on those courses which he considered the most to be recommended.

Two examples may be taken from the *Tour through the Southern Counties.* At Billericay, Essex, Young reports the husbandry as poor where the course was fallow, wheat, oats, ray grass or clover,[3] and from Lanvachers he gives the following two courses : (1) Fallow, wheat, barley, oats, ray grass and clover for from three to eight years, followed by paring and burning. (2) Fallow, wheat, barley, clover (2 years), wheat. " The first," he writes, " is miserable husbandry and the latter bad."[4]

Anyone will be able to realize that Young objected firstly to fallows and secondly to two or more " exhausting crops " in succession.

As his journeyings continue, the author becomes more and more impatient of bad courses ; of the East Riding of Yorkshire he says : " In the first place I shall observe that their courses of crops and general management of their arable land are very faulty."[5] He then gives the course at Thorn which is : Turnips, barley, wheat, oats, clover, wheat, which he condemns as " the most infamous course I have met with since I have been out."[6]

1. Article on Arthur Young, by C. W. Johnson, *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, Vol. XIII, p. 152 (1842).
2. *Biographical Memoir of Arthur Young*, J. A. Paris, p. 285.
3. p. 69.
4. p. 116.
5. *A Six Months' Tour through the North of England*, Vol. I, p. 215.
6. Ibid., p. 237.

At Penrith, to his horror he found fallowing " is a *new fashion*, and not perfectly relished by the farmers yet."[1]

A little later, at Holme: Fallow, wheat, barley, oats, " and then let it lie to graze itself," together with: Fallow, wheat, barley, clover, wheat, oats, barley, oats, " and then lie as before." " For this," he cries bitterly, " these slovens deserve to be hanged."[2]

Unfortunately preventing an utter condemnation, come the facts that the produce was not bad and the rents, on an average, nearly £1 an acre.

The Midlands pleased him little better. Of Derby he remarks: (1) fallow, (2) wheat, (3) beans or pease, which is the old barbarous story that has travelled with me regularly from Buckinghamshire."[3] Of Kent he writes: This tract of country has long been reckoned the best cultivated in England, and has no slight pretensions to that character." But the round tilth of East Kent—beans, wheat, barley—" is a bad course and unworthy of them."[4]

Of the husbandry at Hawkhurst—turnips, fallow, wheat, oats, clover or ray grass, fallow—he is fierce in his censure. " Of all the execrable systems, sure none can beat such capital strokes of barbarism as cultivating turnips without barley, and clover without wheat!!"[5]

Invective fails him at Compton, in Somerset, and he has recourse to irony. " First," he tells us, " they marle, thirty loads an acre; and on the credit of that the following is their course: wheat, wheat, wheat, oats, barley, wheat, barley, oats, wheat, barley, oats, wheat. Bravo! my Somersetshire lads! and what then? Why then, Sir, we lime on a fallow and take seven crops more. Incomparable![6]

Despite this, rents were at over £1 an acre.

The course Young would have these people use is: Cabbages, barley, clover, wheat, beans, barley, pease, oats, clover, wheat. The alternation of green with exhausting crops is more than obvious.

1. *A Six Months' Tour through the North of England*, Vol. III, p. 101.
2. Ibid. p. 139.
3. *Tour through the East of England*, Vol. I, p. 159.
4. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 110.
5. Ibid. p. 126.
6. Ibid. Vol IV, p. 22.

The second essay in *Rural Œconomy* is entitled, " Of the best method of conducting a farm that consists all of arable land, and the course of crops suggested is turnips, barley, clover for two years, wheat". Throughout the Southern Tour Young continues to recommend this sequence. We find Orbel Ray, of Tostock, praised for practising it.[1] The same is carried out at Hays (*sic*) " than which none can be better."[2] At Shooter's Hill comes a slight variation, which is commended, namely: pease, turnips, barley, wheat,[3] but the original course is suggested to the farmers of Glamorganshire,[4] and at the end of his journey the author remarks: " No course can exceed that of turnips, barley, clover, wheat, when the land is so dry and sound as to yield good turnips." When the fallow crops begin to wear thin he suggests the substitution of potatoes and cabbages, lucerne and sainfoine.[5]

At the end of his tour to the North, Young wrote out a table of crops of which he said: " The worst proportion of this table is the amount of exhausting crops, viz., wheat, barley and oats, for so much exceeding the ameliorating ones of pease, beans, turneps (*sic*) and clover."[6]

After the first tour the author modified his ideal course to some extent. Although it is strongly recommended for Dorsetshire,[7] the following variations are mentioned as being most suitable for sandy soils: firstly, carrots, barley, potatoes, barley, clover, wheat,[8] and secondly, turnips, carrots, oats, potatoes, barley, clover, wheat.[9] At Woodbridge, where the " courses of crops are unexceptionable," the following are carried out: carrots, turnips, barley, beans, wheat, and alternately, turnips, barley, clover, wheat, beans, barley.[10]

Mr. Arbuthnot, of Ravensbury, kept a careful account of his husbandry, and these were found to be the most

1. *Tour through the Southern Counties*, p. 47.
2. Ibid. p. 82.
3. Ibid. p. 77.
4. Ibid. p. 128.
5. Ibid. p. 231.
6. *Tour through the North*, Vol. IV, p. 206.
7. *Tour through the East*, Vol. III, p. 404.
8. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 324.
9. *Tour through the North*, Vol. I, p. 346.
10. *Tour through the East*, Vol. II, p. 177.

satisfactory rotations: barley, clover, clover, wheat; beans, wheat, tares; beans, wheat, beans, wheat, all drilled. The soil here is a good loam on clay or brick earth and the profits per acre £3 19s. 8d., £6 1s. 7d., £3 15s. 2d. respectively. "Hence it is evident that the most profitable method of manuring these soils is to make clover, beans and tares the fallow crops, and to have wheat the only white corn one . . . . As to barley, oats and turnips, they are comparatively contemptible to the superior crops of clover, beans, tares and wheat." "Wheat," he concludes, "appears to pay very well for a summer fallow. If a hint is taken from these courses, such an one as the following may probably be found uniformly advantageous: fallow, wheat, beans drilled, oats, clover, clover, wheat, winter tares, beans, wheat, potatoes, oats, clover, wheat."[1]

With regard to the disposal of a farm, Arthur Young divides the ideal one into fourteen parts—four of wheat, two of oats, two of beans, three of clover, and one each of tares, potatoes, and curiously enough, fallow. That is to say, eight-fourteenths cleanse and ameliorate, whereas the remaining six foul and exhaust. "The land, therefore, must always be clean and in good heart. This for common husbandry; but the great profit is to manure very richly and plant madder. The clear profit of the madder courses far exceeds the common ones; but lucerne, without any manure at all, comes nearly to the madder with great quantities."[2]

So we are naturally brought to a consideration of fallow crops in themselves.

Since Young was so strong an advocate of the Norfolk husbandry, it is not surprising that one of his great objects was to introduce turnips into general culture. We shall try with this and other fallow crops very briefly to sum up the teaching expressed in the English tours.

"It is a fact," he writes, "that no land absolutely requires a fallow; but then the husbandry should be very spiritedly executed to keep it clean, particularly heavy crops." The "green" crops recommended are turnips or

1. *Tour through the East*, Vol. II, pp. 473, 474.
2. Ibid. p. 475.

clover for light dry soil and beans for clay and strong loam.[1] In particular "turneps (*sic*) should always be hand-hoed twice, and every plant set out from twelve to eighteen inches distance, according to the strength of the soil, and not a weed suffered to grow."[2] So that this method may be the better practised, the author wishes that farmers and labourers used to good methods should be imported into the badly cultivated districts.[3]

We find, for example, that Young very strongly advises the Dorsetshire sheep farmers to grow more turnips.[4] "That root," he concludes, "is so absolutely necessary for the profitable management of a flock, that a good farmer, from an improved country, would think that *turnip* and *sheep* in respect to husbandry were synonymous terms; but the ideas here general are quite contrary."

The object of thoroughly hoeing the turnip crop is naturally to prevent the wheat succeeding from being full of weeds. Statistics satisfactorily prove that "the superiority of the hoed crops is very great, and the comparison being made on the same soils, and in the same places, it amounts to a demonstration."[5]

Actually, turnips had been introduced into England a century before.[6]

Of beans, likewise, Arthur Young gives early proof that the worst crops are in districts where the farmers do not hoe;[7] and again, when it is a question of crumbling clay land, "I must venture particularly to recommend to such of these farmers as have enclosed lands, to sow beans the first crop in the course, and hand-hoe them completely; then to sow barley, and with it lay down to clover, and

1. *Tour through the North*, Vol. III, p. 463.

2. cf. (*a*) "The true turnip culture is to set the crop out *regularly*; to cut up all weeds, and to save the plants everywhere distinct, which no machine will near effect." *Tour through the East*, Vol. I, p. 239.

(*b*) "Debar a Norfolk farmer from a turnip hoe; and clover and ray-grass and all the wonders of husbandry that have been performed in that country would at once sink to nothing." *Tour through the North*, Vol. I, p. 220.

3. Ibid. pp. 460, 461.

4. *Tour through the East*, Vol. III, pp. 340, 352.

5. *Tour through the North*, Vol. III, p.p 452, 458.

6. *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*, R. E. Prothero, p. 32. "To Sir Richard Weston, of Sutton, in Surrey . . . belongs the credit of the first successful cultivation of turnips and clover, the pivots of English agriculture. . . . Young regards Weston as 'a greater benefactor than Newton—he did, in fact, give bread to millions.'"

7. *Tour through the Southern Counties*, p. 222.

upon the clover sow their wheat. This precludes a fallow which upon such land is quite unnecessary ; but all would depend on giving the beans excellent tillage."[1]

At the end of his tours, Arthur Young found from his figures, and certainly against his will, that planted beans and broadcast pease were superior to the drilled. He objected to this and had taken every opportunity of quoting experiments which proved the benefits of the drill system.

Arbuthnot of Ravensbury drilled beans and was more successful than farmers throughout nine-tenths of the Kingdom. " This great superiority is owing to the uncommon attention to keeping them perfectly clean by hand and horse-hoeing." The same gentleman definitely lost on drilled pease and Young remarks : " It would be preposterous to assert from these experiments that these pease cannot profitably be cultivated."[2]

Young's ideas were right. Beans and pease are now universally drilled in England. In general the farmer's losses were occasioned by setting the rows too far apart. This Young points out himself. Writing of drilling in general he says : " It has been common with many persons to declare against drilling from experience ; but such it is presumed, have practised Mr. Tull's method of wide intervals, for drilling the same land every year for wheat. Mr. Arbuthnot's plan has been totally different : he has set his rows so close together, in several of his trials, that the field presently resembles a broad cast one." Young gives the chief advantages of drilling as being firstly, the possibility of sowing more in a day and secondly, easier hoeing.[3]

Young is ready, with qualifications, to report when drilling had not been found satisfactory,[4] but the final result of his observations may be found at the end of the Eastern tour. Speaking of a table which he has drawn up he says : " From this account the importance of the drill

1. *Tour through the North*, Vol. I, p. 94.
2. *Tour through the East*, Vol. II, pp. 376 and 382.
3. *Tour through the East*, Vol. II, p. 262. cf. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 134. Where it is stated that Poole, of Hook, on giving up Tull's method of drilling and reducing the space between the furrows, found this method of farming very profitable. Barley was set at nine inches and turnips at twenty.
4. e.g., *Tour through the North*, Vol. II, p. 372.
Ibid. p. 379.
Tour through the East, Vol. I, p. 385 ; Vol. II, p. 404.

culture of beans is sufficiently clear; four and a half quarters an acre are a product far beyond the average of broadcast crops. But the bean is peculiarly adapted to this husbandry.[1] . . . Drilling in this table also appears a most beneficial culture for pease."[2]

" The product of wheat thus cultivated," he continues, " on comparison with the old method in general, is not here so much the object as the general importance of admitting the hand and horse-hoe; which keeps the land clean and in much finer order than it can be in the broadcast way."[3]

Drilling barley and oats is also found to be beneficial on dry soils[4] and the " real truth is, that drilling and horse-hoeing on the Kentish system of close rows are most advantageous; but the broadcast much exceeds the Tullian system of wide intervals."[5] It should always be practised on light loams, " but on soils that are so heavy or wet as to require ridge work, I am clear from these minutes, that (beans excepted) the broadcast mode will be found much the most profitable, and I may also affirm, that in respect of good implements for the drill culture no part of the Kingdom, Kent excepted, though not the Society's room, is near perfection."[6]

It must be remembered that heavy soil was still considered as the best land for wheat. Apart from this, Young's opinion is quite modern in its conception.

Although potatoes were imported into Spain from South America as early as 1534, they were not introduced into France as food until the end of the eighteenth century by Parmentier.[7] In England they were cultivated to a

1. *Tour Through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 210.
2. Ibid. p. 212.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. p. 213.
5. Ibid. p. 215.
6. Ibid. p. 216.
7. Vide *Hist. de la Soc. d'Agri. . . . de Bretagne*, L. de Villers, p. 36. ." Une grande partie des habitants, de nos compagnes se nourissaient de pommes de terre, dites ' patates,' mais on ne les cultivait pas en grand, le premier ouvrage sur ce sujet est de 1773. D'après un passage des *Reflexions sur l'Agriculture*, la pomme de terre était cultivée en Bretagne non seulement en 1764 mais *Dix* ou *douze ans* plus tôt. C'est à dire dès 1752, soit plus de vingt ans avant Parmentier, le fait est bon a signaler. La Société d'Agriculture engagea fortement ses Associés à cultiver, les patates ou truffes rouges."

certain extent, but the chief object in producing them was to feed animals, as we find clearly stated in Young's remarks.

While touring the South he was impressed by the profits attending their culture " next to hops, potatoes are the most beneficial vegetable that I have met with."[1]

During the Northern tour he continued to note any interesting facts he could discover. Christopher Crowe, of Kiplin, for example, had noticed that, "When boiled, nothing feeds poultry better, and hogs fatten upon them excellently. All sorts of young cattle in the farmyard, he has found, will eat them raw, but if boiled they will be more nourishing and go much farther."[2]

At the end of this journey he petitions for an increased cultivation of this root.[3]

As a result of what he has seen at Carr House, near Doncaster, he next draws attention to another important matter with regard to potato-growing as practised by Anthony Wharton. " One circumstance in which Mr. Wharton is peculiar is the planting only of the knots or eyes, cut off the potatoes ; the heart is all preserved for use ; and this method of cutting them is recommended as a very great saving." So much so, in fact, that the profit is reckoned at £10 11s. 2d. an acre.[4]

This is, of course, the method used to-day. Young was only behind-hand because he resolved that the main use of this root was for feeding hogs and also cattle.[5]

To us it is surprising that when Piers Plowman mentions that he has some parsley and cabbages[6] so little should be known of the latter plant in England at the time of Young's tours. Speaking of cabbages, he says at the end of his Northern tour : " This branch of field culture is *new* in England, although it has been used in Germany and some of the more northern parts of Europe for many years,

1. *A Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties*, p. 218. cf. *Tour through the North*, Vol. II, p. 133. " If any husbandman will be at great expense in manuring, tilling, cleaning, etc., I apprehend that there is no crop in the world so profitable as potatoes."
2. *Tour through the North*, Vol. II, p. 225.
3. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 14.
4. *Tour through the East*, Vol. I, p. 343. cf. profit at Narbourn given as 12/6. *Tour through the North*, Vol. I, p. 192.
5. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, pp. 123, 409.
6. Passus vii.

perhaps ages."[1] The only previous remarks which he had found on this subject were in *Randal's Semi-Virgilian Husbandry,* which gave no account of any experiments. Young was most interested to receive favourable reports from many large farmers. From Reynolds, of Addisham, he learned that Lord Halifax had cultivated cabbages with success in 1731.[2] The principal use for this plant was the feeding of cattle. In 1769 Young calculated the value of cabbages per ton at £12, as opposed to turnips at £3 1s. 6d.[3] A year later he gave the average value of the former as £7 11s. 10d.[4] In fact, his observations bore out in a great part a remark which he makes in the Northern tour.[5] " From this day I cannot but suppose the culture of cabbages will become as common in England as turnips ; and the same honour in all future times, be due to the name of Scroope,[6] the father of this most excellent husbandry, as we now pay to Weston and Tull, the introducers of turnips and clover. Sincerely do I think that cabbages are more valuable in husbandry than either of those vegetables."

Arthur Young, however, did not foresee that cabbages in England would become one of the main vegetables for human consumption.

With regards to carrots, Young's views and services are practically identical. " This excellent root," he writes, " is not so universally known as a food for cattle as it well deserves.[7] Carrots in the minutes of this tour[8] make a distinguished figure. I met with so many experiments[9] on this most excellent root, that I think there is great reason to expect it will soon become common husbandry ; which would be one of the most fortunate circumstances that could possibly happen to the agriculture of Britain."

1. *Tour through the East,* Vol. IV, p. 16.
2. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 60. Reports of experiments are general, e.g., *Tour through the North,* Vol. I, pp. 88, 102 et seq. ; Vol. II, p. 106 et seq. ; p. 234 ; Vol. IV, p. 51. *Tour through the East,* Vol. IV, p. 109 ; p. 181 et seq.
3. *Tour through the North,* Vol. IV, p. 32.
4. *Tour through the East,* Vol. IV, p. 181.
5. Vol. II, p. 369.
6. Simon Scroope, of Danby : his experiments with Scotch, Russia, Battersea, Red and Savoy cabbages are reported by Young in the *Tour through the North,* Vol. II, p. 344, et seq.
7. *Tour through the North,* Vol. IV, p. 24.
8. *Tour through the East,* Vol. IV, p. 93.
9. e.g., Vol. I, p. 369 ; Vol. II, p. 124 and also *Tour through the North,* Vol. I, p. 52 ; p. 201 ; p. 338. The experiments quoted are those of special interest.

" This excellent root," he has written elsewhere, " is commonly cultivated only in the island of Guernsey and in the neighbourhood of Woodbridge, in Suffolk."[1]

Even as he wished turnips to be hoed, so did Young wish carrots to be thinned, which is one of his most important remarks with regard to their culture.

The average profit per acre is reckoned as £14 15s. 6d.[2]

Clover, lucerne, sainfoine and burnet were at this time matters of European importance. In Brittany, for example, " la Société préconcise avec raison les prairies artificielles. Elle insiste surtout sur la culture du trèfle. La province pourrait faire distribuer gratuitement huit livres de graines dans celles où cette culture n'est pas connue. Si la culture du trèfle est ' le moyen le plus propre a procurer un bien désirable,' lisons nous dans le Corps d'Observations, ' parce qu'elle n'exige aucune dépense et qu'elle est à la portée du laboureur le moins intelligent, il serait peut-être encore plus utile de cultiver la luzerne.' "[3]

No one, we learn, had any success with this plant until 1758, when Charlotais and Montluc began to cultivate it in rows.[4]

Young remarks that " common farmers love to grope in the dark."[5] The following extract from de Modenard proves that French agriculturalists were open to the same criticism. " Il est impossible d'oublier," he writes, " que Madame de Marboeuf fut accusée d'avoir voulu affamer le peuple français, parce qu'elle avait fait mettre une partie de sa terre de champs en luzerne, et qu'elle fut condamnée à mort sur ce prétexte insensé."[6]

In France, as M. Weulersse points out, " la multiplication du bétail, pour être économique necessitait l'acroissement des prairies artificielles,"[7] and with such men as Bakewell, Coke and Quartley turning their attention to stock-breeding, the same may be said to be true of England.

1. *Political Essays concerning the Present State of the British Empire*, p. 149 (1772).
2. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 102.
3. *Hist. de la Soc. d'Agri. de Bretagne*, L. de Villers, p. 29.
4. Ibid.
5. *Rural Œconomy*, p. 37.
6. *Considerations sur l'Organisation . . . de la France et de l'Angleterre* : A. de Modenard, 3 Vols. 1802.
7. *Le Mouvement Physiocratique*, Vol. II, p. 198.

We have already noticed how anxious Arthur Young is to find any root suitable for feeding cattle.

Of lucerne he remarked at the end of his Southern tour : " Lucerne is of great, of very great, importance,"[1] and at the end of his journeyings he adds : " The most important perhaps of the artificial grasses is *Lucerne,* and at the same time the least understood." A few years later we find : " There is some reason to believe this the prime of all artificial grasses."[2] The average profit is given at £7 10s. 5d. an acre and the greatest thing in favour of its culture as its duration.[3] Evidence is in support of the seed being broadcast.[4]

Madder is also dealt with.[5] Some farmers lost on its cultivation, but Young calculated a profit of £6 9s. 7d. per acre.[6]

Young's observations with regard to sainfoine led to the explosion of one popular idea, namely, that this plant was only suitable for light, dry soils. It was, however, only his Eastern tour which enabled him so to do, for at the end of his journey through the North he says : " From the state of sainfoine culture I cannot help remarking how much the vast tracks (*sic*) of poor, light, dry soils in this Kingdom call for so cheap and great improvement . . ."[7] Early in the Eastern tour, on the other hand, he learns with surprise that the plant has been sown with success on loam and stiff clay, " utterly contrary to all the common ideas we have heard concerning sainfoine."[8] The reports of Sir Cecil Wray, of Summers Castle,[9] and Mr. Clayton, of Harleyford,[10] bore out this remark, and Young concludes by estimating the average profit of this crop at £3 6s. 3d. per acre.[11] " It is greatly to be regretted," he adds later,

1. p. 277. cf. *Tour through the North,* Vol. III, p. 321. The experiments of William Penny, of Bendsworth, prove that " lucerne is a most capital article in British agriculture, and greatly deserves to be brought into universal use."
2. *Political Essays concerning the Present State of the British Empire,* p. 141.
3. *Tour through the East,* Vol. IV, p. 148.
4. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 205 ; p. 262.
5. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 288 ; Vol. III, pp. 40, 72, 95 ; Vol. IV, p. 486. *Tour through the North,* Vol. II, pp. 28, 328.
6. *Tour through the East,* Vol. IV, p. 128.
7. Vol. IV, p. 74.
8. Vol. I, p. 7.
9. Vol. I, p. 448.
10. Vol. IV, p. 54.
11. Vol. IV, p. 143.

" that the culture of sainfoin is not extended to many parts of these islands where it is scarcely known."[1]

Young may be allowed to sum up the question of burnet in his own words. " Upon the whole I shall beg leave to remark that in general the reports are favourable to this grass . . . . But the most advantageous method of all is, to sow it with other grasses in laying down to pasture."[2]

In the same work the author gives the chief benefits of clover as being firstly, a heavy yield the first year, and secondly, the fact that this crop is a better preparation than the finest fallow for wheat.[3] The reason he gives for this is interesting. " The shade of a thick crop is the great object in summer ; be it what it may, it will breed so putrid a fermentation in the soil, as to work a far greater and infinitely more regular improvement than the random dunging and staling of cattle."[4]

At Swindon and Rookby, Young found that nothing was known of clover[5] and at Keswick but little.[6] So much was agricultural knowledge localised. " The clover and the clover and rye grass husbandry are perfectly understood in Suffolk and Norfolk, but scarcely known (advantageously) in Wales ; was hardly introduced into Scotland in the year 1757, and is of no extent in Ireland."[7]

Thus did Arthur Young make notes of anything with regard to crops which struck him as being of interest. Hops, tares, hemp and liquorice came under his observations in a similar way to the crops previously mentioned.

In summing up the results of his Northern tour, the author compiled a number of tables in an endeavour to discover the best quantity of seed to be used over an acre. " The quantity of seed," he writes, " is one of the most important as well as dubious points in husbandry, the crop

1. *Political Essays concerning the present State of the British Empire*, p. 140.
2. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 139.
3. Vol. IV, p. 165.
4. Ibid. p. 165.
5. *Tour through the North*, Vol. II, pp. 251, 173.
6. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 108.
7. *Political Essays concerning . . . the British Empire*, p. 152.

must depend on it so much, that it is impossible but the averages of quantity must be attended with a corresponding effect on those of crops." In general he finds that farmers need not be much afraid of over-seeding, and suggests the following number of bushels per acre as being likely to give the most satisfactory results: Wheat 3, Rye $2\frac{1}{2}$, Barley 2, Oats 6, Pease $3\frac{1}{2}$, Beans $5\frac{1}{2}$.[1]

We have no reason to doubt the author's word when he assures us that the result of this enquiry must necessarily benefit agriculture.

As we have already noticed, Arthur Young infinitely preferred oxen to horses for ploughing, and it is not surprising that he shows comparatively little interest in the latter animal. His remarks on it are usually confined to places where he found more horses in use than appeared to him to be necessary. Two horses, he concludes, should usually be sufficient to plough an acre a day,[2] and six horses essential for a farm of a hundred acres.[3] He finds, however, three, four, five and even six horses used in a plough, which he calls an "execrable custom."[4] "I cannot," he adds elsewhere, "give you these vile remnants of barbarity without a great degree of disgust."[5] One half at least of the draught cattle, taken at a medium, might be dispensed with."[6]

Bakewell, of Dishley, in Derbyshire, and Coke, of Holkham, were already engaged in the scientific breeding of cattle and sheep. "Bakewell," as Prothero remarks, "saw that the day was near when meat would be more valued in the ox than draught or in the sheep than wool,"[7] while Coke brought Devon cattle into fashion early in the

1. *Tour through the North*, Vol. IV, p. 86.
2. Ibid. p. 102.
3. *A Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties*, pp. 202, 240. *Tour through the East*, Vol. I, p. 120; Vol. II, p. 37.
4. Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 26.
5. *Six Weeks' Tour*, p. 84.
6. Ibid. p. 240.
7. *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*, p. 49.

eighteenth century.[1] Speaking of the farmer's stock-breeding Young says : " This principle is to gain the beast, whether sheep or cow, that will weigh most in the most valuable joints . . . And at the same time, that he gains the shape, that is of the greatest value in the smallest compass ; he asserts from long experience, that he gains a breed much hardier and easier fed than others. These ideas he applies equally to sheep and oxen.

" In the breed of the latter the old notion was, that where you had much and large bones, there was plenty of room to lay flesh on ; and accordingly the graziers were eager to buy the largest boned cattle. This whole system Mr. Bakewell has proved to be an utter mistake. He asserts, the smaller the bones, the truer will be the make of the beast—the quicker she will fat—and her weight, we may easily conceive, will have a larger proportion of valuable meat : *flesh* not *bone* is the butcher's object . . . ." The best shape, therefore, may be taken to be that of a barrel, with no ridges on the backs and as short legs as possible.[2] That is to say, entirely the modern idea. It will be readily realized that it was necessary for the news of Bakewell's theories and success to be widely reported when Young himself found at Long Sutton that the breeders all aimed at getting the largest boned rams,[3] and we may well remark in passing that the writer was still insisting on the necessity for improvement in the breed of sheep in 1792.[4]

Young takes note of any breeds of cattle which strike him as being important,[5] and pays particular attention to methods of feeding and fattening. He says : " The great article of all husbandry is the keeping of great stocks of cattle, for without much cattle there cannot be much corn."[6]

1. *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*, p. 53.
2. *Tour through the East*, Vol. I, pp. 111, 112.
3. Ibid. p. 468.
4. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 524-549. " Queries on the Means of Judging Sheep." In the course of this article Arthur Young asks someone in the House of Commons " to move a grant to His Majesty of five thousand pounds a year, to be given in premiums for improving the breed of sheep."
5. e.g., the Lancashire long-horned breed. *Tour through the North*, Vol. II, p. 126 ; Vol. III, p. 159. *Tour through the East*, Vol. I, p. 75.
6. *Rural Œconomy*, p. 39. See also Ibid. Essay IV, p. 125 et seq. " Of the means of keeping, the year round, the most cattle on a given quantity of land." The conclusion of which is : " In the whole list, lucerne for summer feed, and cabbages for that of winter, appear to be much the most advantageous." Later, p. 226, Young emphasizes " the truth of the remark I have so often made, that without plenty of cattle there can be no good husbandry."

In this he is repeating the Flemish doctrine : " Point de fourrage, point de bestiaux ; sans bestiaux, aucun engrais ; sans engrais, nulle recolte ! "

Because Arthur Young favoured enclosures he was necessarily antagonistic to sheep farming on a large scale, except on very poor land, because " no land is too poor to have a good stock on it."[1] " As profit increases, the size of the flocks decreases ; the fall is unbroken. This proves that the large flocks are generally a poor breed of sheep, or else the husbandry is very bad ; but the fatting system is plainly, from the whole course of the inquiry, the most profitable, and the smaller flocks include all these."[2] In proof of this are the figures which give the profit of keeping a sheep for a year at 11s. 8d.[3] at the end of the Eastern tour, whereas that of the great sheep farmers of the North is only 6s. 6d.[4]

In addition to improving the breed, Young was most earnest in his endeavours to discover means for the prevention of disease. The system of greasing the animals against scab was advocated by Fitzherbert in 1523, and his method was largely continued in England until as late as 1850.[5] Young, therefore, as we might expect, does not interest himself particularly with this, but his enquiries with regard to the rot are extensive, particularly during the last journey, and continued for many years after the completion of the tours.[6]

His conclusions at this time are as follows. " Everyone knows," he writes, " that moisture is the cause, and that fine, dry downs never rot," but what he cannot decide is whether it is water which falls in rains and stagnates, floods from streams, floods in summer or floods in winter, water from springs which stagnates, water from springs which flows or, lastly, water from particular soils.[7]

In spite of all the contradictory evidence which he received, Young would have saved himself much trouble

1. *Tour through the North*, Vol. IV, p. 187.
2. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 280.
3. Ibid. p. 276.
4. *Tour through the North*, Vol. IV, p. 185.
5. Vide *A Short History of British Agriculture*, J. Orr, p. 39.
6. *Tour through the East*, Vol. I, pp. 118, 166, 393, 490 ; Vol. II, p. 70 ; Vol. III, p. 310 ; Vol. IV, p. 42. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. 11, pp. 170, 319 ; Vol. XVII, p. 602.
7. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 285.

had he been content to accept the cause of rot simply as water.

The interest which all these reports and data aroused among farmers and landowners all over the country may be clearly seen in the number of letters which Arthur Young received immediately after the publication of his Tours.[1]

Previously it has been noticed how very much Arthur Young favoured grass lands. It is probably correct to sum up his opinions in his own words. The third essay in *Rural Oeconomy* is entitled " Of the best method of conducting a farm that consists all of grass lands," in the course of which he remarks : " I assert the quantity of *food for man* to be much greater from a farm of 300 acres, two-thirds of which are grass, than from another of which only a tenth is grass. . . . Turnips and clover, at the same time that they maintain great stocks of cattle, may be called the *nurseries of corn.*"[2]

It is natural, therefore, to find that Young emphasises particularly a part of the country where he found grass lands in the greatest favour ; that is to say, the West Country. Between Winchester and Aylesford, he tells us, land let at between 5s. and 10s. an acre " and grass much higher,"[3] and " on the road to Bristol I could see nothing but very rich grass, which letts (*sic*) from 20s. and 30s. to 40s. an acre."[4] From the Northern tour he discovered that the average rent of good grass lands was 28s. 4d.[5]—a high one in fact—and his championship of grass is not one whit diminished at the beginning of the Eastern tour. " Tenants ought never to be allowed to break up grass, but under minute restrictions : the propriety of this method is then indubitable in numerous instances."[6] Consequently the writer was well pleased with the conduct of the Somersetshire men in this respect though not in all.[7] Corn in this county was dear, but " ploughing up meadow they

1. Vide Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35, 126.
2. pp. 129, 130.
3. *A Six Weeks' Tour*, p. 175.
4. Ibid. p. 146.
5. Vol. II, p. 166.
6. Vol. I, p. 101.
7. Vide supra, p. 41.

treated with contempt, and assured me that the turn here was so much that of laying land down to grass, that in a very few years the whole country would be nothing else."[1] A little later, when he again enquired if the high price of corn were not causing pasture to be put under the plough, " I was answered that no such thing was known or heard of, but on the contrary much arable land was in some places laid down to grass."[2]

We must not assume, however, that he was blind in his partisanship of grass. In the same work he speaks as follows of the pasture land in Leicestershire : " I shall here observe upon the Leicestershire grazing in general, that less is made of their rich pastures than might be on various accounts." The reasons are the use of ridge and furrow, the numerous ant-hills, the weeds and the lack of arable land, which forced the farmers to sell their animals because of their having no winter food.[3]

In passing, let us remark how right Arthur Young was in condemning the ridge and furrow system of draining for grass lands. Near Risley, in Derbyshire, there exist to this day a number of meadows laid out in this fashion, which invariably hold the water in wet weather, although the ridges are by no means high.

Treatment of grass land naturally led the writer to consider the best method of laying down land to grass, and also of artificial grasses in general. From what he saw at Clayton he concluded " that land should be laid down *without* corn ; and also that a very few good grass seeds are far preferable to a great quantity of that rubbish commonly called hay seeds."[4]

Mention has already been made of the unqualified approval which Young bestowed upon the *Observations* by the Société d'Agriculture de Bretagne. Article 5 dealt with madder and woad : " Le procureur-général syndic en Bretagne, est chargé par les Etats de se procurer des mémoires et des instructions sur les objets ci-dessus, de les faire imprimer aux frais de la compagnie, et la Société

1. *Tour through the East*, Vol. III, p. 399.
2. Ibid. p. 416.
3. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 195.
4. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 58.

d'Agriculture sera chargée de les distribuer dans la province[1] .... La Société eût bien desiré de pouvoir cultiver le ' ray grass.' Cette plante sur laquelle on n'avait alors que de vagues indications était cultivée principalement en Angleterre."[2]

In view of M. de Villers' remark, we can only be surprised that Arthur Young pays such little attention to this last-mentioned grass.

Two letters dealing with the matter of grass lands may be quoted in conjunction with Young's work. E. S. Pole, writing to him from Radbourne on April 10th, 1771, says : " Are you still of the same opinion (vide *Farmer's Letters*) that all gentlemen are out of pocket by keeping *arable* lands in their hands ? I think I have experienced it."[3] The other is from a well-known person, namely, Lord Holdernesse, who writes from Hornby Castle on October 30th of the previous year. " I have *now*," he explains, " nothing in the farming way worth your notice—my land is almost all in grass . . . *without corn.*"[4]

Young may sometimes have been preaching to hearers already convinced, but that only helps to prove that many of his ideas were correct and that the time had come to spread them.

One more matter remains for consideration before we may turn our attention from agricultural affairs in themselves to wider issues.

Early in his literary career Arthur Young dealt with manures. A letter, which he received from A. Hunter, of York, in February, 1769, may in some measure account for the prominence which he gives this question in the Northern and Eastern tours. " A national history of manures," wrote his correspondent, " seems a desideratum in agriculture. I wish you would give us something in that way."[5]

1. *Hist. de la Société d'Agriculture de Bretagne*, L. de Villers, p. 23.
2. Ibid. p. 29.
3. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35, 126, f. 103.
4. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35, 126, f. 95.
5. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35, 126, f. 63.

It is surprising to read such remarks as the following. They show how grossly manuring was neglected. "About fifty years ago," we find, " the manuring from Hull was begun by a poor man who hired a close of grass."[1] Later, at Haselbeach : "About this country, and I believe through all Northants (and I observed much of it in Bucks) they have a most execrable custom of collecting all the cow dung from the fields and kneading it up with short straw to burn instead of coals . . . any traveller would suppose the country a colony from the wild Irish, who burn their dunghills."[2]

About Warham again : " They buy large quantities of dung at Wells, for which they pay 1/- a cartload. Much of the dung which now brings crops of 8 quarters an acre in the enclosures round the town, Sir John Turner remembers being thrown into the haven ; no man thought it worth the carriage."[3]

It does not surprise us, therefore, when we again find Young directly opposing the supporters of the tillage system. " I should remark," he mentions, " that the warm advocates for tillage ought not to be general in their expressions ; like Tull, De Chateauvieux, M. du Hamel, and an hundred others, since it is evident, a thorough pulverization may on some lands be pernicious." If the soil were too finely sifted on a chalk land, for example, rain " plaistered (*sic*) the whole surface like mortar."[4]

Young, however, did not realize the chemical action of manure, which is clearly proved by a remark he makes in the Eastern tour. Writing of the farmers about Wareham he says : " They do not keep the sheep two nights together in the same fold, but come over it again. This I should think a very bad practice ; for half the virtue of manuring lies in the fermentation raised in the soil, by the application of *large quantities at once*."[5] But this does not prevent him from realizing the immense importance of manuring, for

1. *Tour through the North*, Vol. I, p. 103.
2. *Tour through the East*, Vol. I, p. 48.
3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 34.
4. *Tour through the North*, Vol. II, p. 226. cf. *Rural Oeconomy*, p. 250, where the author flatly contradicts these same people.
5. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 277.

he writes : " We may pronounce this article to be one of the most important if not the first in husbandry."[1]

Although he elsewhere speaks of marl as being the " prince of manures,"[2] the majority of his efforts are nevertheless directed towards improvements in the collection and use of farmyard dung, which is " of such importance in agriculture, that too much attention cannot be given to it."[3] He wishes cattle to be tied up all through the winter,[4] well littered with straw and stubble chaff,[5] while special arrangements should be made for preventing the urine from running to waste.[6] The value of oil cake in feeding cannot be over-estimated.[7] The chief point of all, however, is that cattle should not be fed in the field but in the yard.[8]

It is not to be supposed that preference for marl and farmyard manure prevented Young from favourably viewing other kinds. He makes it quite plain that he favours variety in manures[9] and mentions beneficial effects from such as lime, which must be used with care,[10] slack, bone-dust, cutlers' bones, soap ashes,[11] sea-ooze,[12] leaves impregnated with urine,[13] seaweed,[14] oil,[15] wood-ashes,[16] and cinder-ashes.[17] " Marle," as we have already seen, " may be called the prince of manures ; both for the degree of fertility which it occasions, the time it lasts and the lowness

1. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 394.
2. *Rural Oeconomy* : Essay VI " On the cheapest way of manuring land," p. 249 ; and also *Essays concerning . . . the British Empire*, p. 125.
3. *Tour through the North*, Vol. IV, p. 333.
4. *Tour through the East*, Vol. III, p. 318.
5. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 412 ; Vol. II, p. 35 and *Tour through the North*, Vol. III. p. 31 ; cf. *Rural Œconomy*, p 268 : " From the considerations, therefore, which have occurred to me as from my own practice, I have the greatest reason to believe that buying straw or stubble to litter great stocks of cattle, much the cheapest and best way of manuring land."
6. *Tour through the North*, Vol. I, p. 335.
7. *Tour through the East*, Vol. II, p. 239 : " No manure exceeds the dung of oil-cake fed beasts."
8. *Tour through the North*, Vol. II, p. 441.
9. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 214.
10. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 92 ; Vol. II, p. 248.
11. *Tour through the East*, Vol. II, p. 291.
12. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 52.
13. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 111.
14. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 414.
15. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 432.
16. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 478.
17. *Rural Œconomy*, p. 412 (note).

of the expence. In those countries where it is most profitably used, a manuring with marle, that lasts a good twenty years, costs from fifty shillings to four pounds, which is surprisingly cheap." On stiff and light soils it mellows the land, and Arthur Young believes it to be a fertilizer. Yet, where clay is to be found with marl, he prefers the use of the former,[1] and he states that he knows of no country where the farmers trust solely to marl.[2] Finally, and in apparent contradiction to what he has previously remarked, lime may be taken as agreeing with any soil.[3]

From these details, which have a direct reference to the land, its crops and the beasts which live by it and on it, we may reasonably assert that the praise accorded to the Tours, both by the author himself and others, was fully justified. It next remains to be seen whether a consideration of the more general subjects treated will enable us to reach an equally satisfactory conclusion.

1. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 394.
2. *Rural Œconomy*, p. 262.
3. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 394.

CHAPTER IV.

The English Tours continued. Size of farms—influence on the prices of provisions and labour. Rents. Land purchase. Tythes. Young and the Physiocrats. Prices. Wages—Young, the anti-democrat. Poor rates. Population. The improvement of waste land—enclosures ; their abuses and the remedies—appeal to Government for financial aid—drainage—paring and burning. Trees. Roads.

The observations which he made during his English tours did not cause Arthur Young to change in his preference for rather large farms. Indeed, his dislike of the small culture carried out in France has frequently caused him to be criticised. Young's ideas on the size of farms remained practically static during the whole of his life.

Much contemporary opinion supported large farms, the Physiocrats, Sir James Steuart and, to a certain extent, Turgot.

The former wished to see the land occupied by rich farmers, as was frequently the case in England. Small holdings, they maintained, should be united, if necessary by the authority of the government, and in any case by government action.[1]

The teaching of the Physiocrats was not without its effect. " Dans le Soissonnais, en 1760," we read, " l'évincement des petits et mêmes des moyens fermiers est presque achevé . . . Au cours des années suivantes la concentration continue."[2]

We must remember in this connection that, for the Physiocrats, a large farm is one which employs from three to four ploughs,[3] and that, in the same way as Arthur Young, they did not want the complete abolition of the small holder, but were worried because so many cultivators held tiny pieces of land and were too poor to work them properly.[4]

1. *Le Mouvement Physiocratique en France*, G. Weulersse, Vol. I, p. 361.
2. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 201.
3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 311 ; cf. Young's idea that the best kind of farm is one which employs from six to twelve horses. Vide supra, p. 28.
4. Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 444, 447, 448, et subter.

Sir James Steuart's reason for preferring large farms was that they freed labour for the industries,[1] which is an entirely different one from that maintained by Young, although the thesis is the same. Turgot showed himself to be of much the same school of thought when he pointed out how much better cultivated were the lands of Northern France, held by farmers, than those of the South, which were worked by the *metayer* system.[2]

We cannot, therefore, regard Young as a prime mover in this matter, but his opinions, in view of the contemporary importance of the question, will be well worth consideration.

It must not be thought for a moment that Young was blind to the disadvantages of very large farms. Early in the Southern tour, and speaking of the district round Tilbury, he mentions " the prodigious size of the farms " and continues " As to the public good, these *exceeding* large farms are not of the greatest advantage." The Essex farms, " being situated in a rich soil, might be split into smaller ones to infinitely greater benefit than the former (Norfolk), which require each a considerable stock of sheep." The expense in Norfolk, he adds, would be too great for small farms because of the quantities of marl which must be used.[3]

The whole question is answered very fully at the end of the Northern tour. " There has not, of late years," writes Young, " been any subject of political economy that has been more debated than the size of farms that is most advantageous. . . . the most advantageous proportions are unknown. . . . We have had volumes of reasons, arguments and opinions, upon this point, but scarce any facts ; it is therefore, with peculiar satisfaction, that I shall endeavour to treat the subject in a new way by presenting facts."[4] There follows a most elaborate table from which " we find first, that the greatest part of the Kingdom is divided into moderate farms. . .[5] this is a fact

1. Vide *Considérations sur l'Organisation . . . de la France et de l'Angleterre* : de Modenard d'après Berbier, p. 45 (1862).
2. *Œuvres de Turgot*, ed. G. Schelle, Vol. II, p. 550.
3. *A Six Weeks' Tour*, pp. 70, 71.
4. *Tour through the North*, Vol. IV, p. 192.
5. Average acreage given as 287 ; cf. *Tour through the East*, Vol IV, p. 378. Where the average acreage is found to be 561.

which contradicts very strongly the popular ideas current at present, of the whole Kingdom being *monopolised by great farmers.*"[1]

" The great error of common farmers is the hiring too much land in proportion to their fortunes."[2] This remark savours of no blind partisanship of large farms, neither does the following. Around Gateford we read that " in the hiring and stocking farms, they reckon 1000 l. necessary for a sand farm of 200 acres. . . . But such farms are often taken with three or four hundred pounds ; the consequence of which is the execrable husbandry so common here."[3] Yet at Bawtrey, Yorkshire, " a much better husbandry would be found among them if the farms were larger : they are too small for any spirited husbandry."[4]

What conclusion is it possible to draw from these remarks, which are in part so very contradictory ?

Now the produce of farms is found to rise steadily with the size. Whereas farms of less value than £50 a year give an average produce per acre of 27 bushels, those above £300 give an average of 34 bushels, and the intermediate values give a corresponding increase according to size. As the author remarks of his table : " The increase of product with the size of farms is so regular, that it cannot be attributed to chance."[5] It must be remembered, moreover, that the larger farms are usually composed of poorer lands, and " rich soils are commonly worse cultivated than poor ones, and for this reason they are oftener divided into small farms. A little farmer is everywhere a bad husbandman ; he cannot afford to do well by his land."[6] " The rich man keeps his land rich and clean."[7]

In short, the matter here proved by figures is one which Arthur Young had himself found to be true by bitter experience, namely, that although greater things may be

1. *Tour through the North*, Vol. IV, p. 198.
2. *Rural Œconomy*, p. 179.
3. *Tour through the East*, Vol. I, p. 248.
4. Ibid. p. 244.
5. *Tour through the North*, Vol. IV, p. 264.
6. *Rural Œconomy*, p. 292.
7. *Tour through the East*, Vol. II, p. 162.

done by a large farmer, lack of sufficient capital in proportion to his acres will bring about his ruin.

This introduction of Arithmetic into farming is most important.

The table at the end of the Northern tour enables Young to make two more statements which are interesting from the point of view of Political Economy. Firstly, he concludes that the size of farms[1] has no influence on the price of provisions, and secondly, that if the price of labour is at all affected by the size of farms, it is the small ones that raise it.[2]

These conclusions practically constitute a strong case for the landed interest.[3]

The matter of rents had been strongly brought to Arthur Young's notice in the December of 1768, when John Yeldham, of Ealing, remarked to him in a letter : " Here we give from 10 to 16s. p. acre for our lands—not a whit better than you can get in the North for 1d."[4] and Young soon found the questions of rent and the size of farms mingled together. His teaching, favourable as might be expected, to the landlords, may be adequately summed up in the succeeding paragraph.

Speaking of the small farms on Mr. Duncombe's estate at Munnington, Young writes : " Now it is highly worthy of remark that the husbandry of these farmers is universally bad ; their fields in a slovenly condition ; and of so little encouragement to them is the lowness of their rents, that many large tracts of land that yielded good crops of corn,

1. *Tour through the North*, Vol. IV, p. 318.
2. Ibid. p. 319.
3. The opponents of the Physiocrats in England had maintained that it was due to the suppression of mortmain that the smallholders had been reduced to the condition of labourers to the sole advantage of the landed gentry. Vide *La Revolution Industrielle en Angleterre* (Mantoux) ; quoted by G. Weulersse, *Le Mouvement Physiocratique en France*, Vol. II, p. 446.
4. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,126, f. 55. Probably from this time Arthur Young entertained the idea of purchasing a large tract of moorland in Yorkshire, which he later carried out (1793). In view of the fact that Young usually condemns cheap land his action is all the more surprising : cf. *Tour through the East*, Vol. I, p. 317, when, speaking of land about Blythe, he remarks : " The comparison between the two sands is extremely decisive : 14s. 10d. per acre profit is very considerable. . . . This should be a lesson to all farmers ever to choose the best land at a fair rent, in preference to what is commonly called the cheapest soil." cf. Subter p .80.

within thirty years, are now over-run with whin, brakes, and other trumpery. The farmers are a poor, wretched set of people. If demanded how such conditions can be stopped : I answer, Raise their rents. First with moderation, and if that does not bring forth industry, double them ; But if you would have a vigorous culture go forward, throw fifteen or twenty of these farms into one, as fast as the present occupiers drop off. This is the only means in such cases to improve husbandry, and consequently to promote population."[1]

In direct contradiction to this, we have a passage in the Southern tour where the author shows that good land is worked out because the rent is so high that the farmers cannot afford to manure and also do their best to avoid fallow years.[2]

Now as Mr. John Orr has pointed out, there is a weakness in Young's arguments in favour of high rents.

" Writers in the time of the Tudors," he says, " had dwelt on the mischief caused by the exaction of excessive rents. There were periods when the problem became acute. First of all, after the enclosures of the sixteenth century, then during the Napoleonic Wars and again between 1853 and 1876."[3]

Sir James Steuart was nearer the truth than Young when he remarked that a rise in rent of lands proves the augmentation of industry and the multiplication of free hands.[4] The latter considers an increase to be the cause of economic change rather than the result.

Adam Smith flatly contradicts Young. " The rent of land," he writes, " considered as the price paid for the use of the land, is naturally a monopoly price. It is not at all proportioned to what the landlord may have laid out upon the improvement of the land, or to what he can afford to take ; but to what the farmer can afford to give."[5]

It must be admitted that Adam Smith is more convincing than Arthur Young although, broadly speaking,

1. *Tour through the North*, Vol. II, p. 86.
2. *A Six Weeks' Tour*, p. 216.
3. *A Short History of British Agriculture*, J. Orr, p. 81.
4. *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Œconomy*, Sir James Steuart, Vol. I, p. 153.
5. *Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith, Vol. I, p. 131. (Everyman Edition).

various combinations of indolence, poverty and ignorance are the cause of all agricultural abuses.

The average rent of the six hundred miles covered during the Southern tour was found to be 12s. 7d. per acre,[1] that of the Northern 11s. 9d.[2] and at the end of the Eastern 13s. is given as the general average over nearly four thousand miles.[3]

Now Young argues that in order to increase produce it is necessary to raise rents.[4] The possible augmentation of produce exclusive of the improvement of waste lands is generously estimated at £30,000,000.[5] It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the author is inclined to misrepresent facts to suit his purpose. As we have just noticed, the average rent per acre after the Northern tour is given as 11s. 9d. This is an unfair calculation, because by far the greater percentage of farms are well over this figure. From Lancaster to North Mimms, for example, the rents are only once below 11s. 9d., and the average of the tour is reduced by some vast areas of practically waste land.

In face of such facts, Arthur Young's obstinacy becomes very apparent.

Two other interesting points fixed by the writer are that land sold on an average at thirty-one and half years' purchase, and that the land tax might be reckoned at two shillings in the pound.[6]

Tythes are estimated at three shillings and threepence in the pound, or three shillings and fourpence per acre.[7] His championship of the landed interest naturally led Young into fierce condemnation of this tax. " The total of products," he cries, " had much better pay twelve millions to the government by taxes on consumption, than five to the clergy in Tythes. This tax is the taille of England."[8]

1. *A Six Weeks' Tour*, p. 247.
2. *Tour through the North*, Vol. III, p. 425.
3. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 229.
4. Ibid. p. 376.
5. Ibid. p. 381.
6. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 393.
7. Ibid. p. 389.
8. *Tour through the North*, Vol. IV, p. 388.

In many districts he found that it was customary for the rectors " to take in kind only of those tenants who farm the best ; and never to compound for more than one year at a time. This is a sufficient bar to all improvements"[1] He rightly emphasises this. " At every place I made enquiries all ranks agreed, the clergy as well as others, that tythes were universally found a great discouragement to husbandry."[2]

On similar grounds the *taille* had been generally condemned in France, where men occupied with the welfare of the country had repeatedly pointed out that the tax gave no encouragement whatever to industry, meaning, as it did, that any extra profits were immediately rewarded by increased impositions.

The Physiocrats, in objecting to the *dime,* use practically the same arguments as Arthur Young.

" Le dime et le champart deviennent une vraie suppression de capitaux, lorsqu'ils se perçoivent avant que le propriétaire ait pu retrouver le remboursement de ses avances."[3]

Turgot mentions two " inconvénients de la dime : (1) Sa disproportion. Point d'égard aux frais de culture. (2) La dime, étant une portion des fruits, peut entamer la part du cultivateur, et faucher ainsi plus que l'herbe."[4]

It may be argued at this point that Arthur Young was simply borrowing physiocratic ideas and enunciating them as his own. This, however, is not the case.

A letter is preserved from Massalotto, the Prince Bishop of Wilna, to Young. Unfortunately it bears no date, but Young has written on it, " He was with me at Bradmore," and from the *Autobiography* we learn that the date of this visit was 1769. " The whole of this year I passed at North Mimms very well received, and visited in that thronged neighbourhood."[5]

Speaking of his English visit, the Churchman says : " J'ai été confirmé dans l'idée que j'avais déjà que la terre

1. *Tour through the North.* Vol. II, p. 64.
2. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 336.
3. *Memoire Présenté à la Société de Paris.* Quoted by G. Weulersse : *Le Mouvement Physiocratique,* Vol. I, p. 454.
4. *Œuvres de Turgot,* ed. G. Schelle, Vol. II, p. 304.
5. Loc. cit., pp. 51, 52.

pouvait devenir une source intarissable de richesses pour quiconque était prodigue envers elle . . . . Je suis maintenant en route pour retourner dans ma malheureuse patrie ; je désirerais de tout mon cœur, et c'est le seul moyen de la servir, que de lui faire reconnaître et exercer l'œconomie pratique avec autant de succès que chez vous. Je vous envoye, Monsieur, tous les volumes des *Ephémérides du Citoyen* qui ont paru jusqu'à présent."

Continuing, the Bishop urges on Young the importance of the Physiocratic doctrine " en vous en occupant," he concludes, " vous ne pouvez qu'acquerir de nouveaux droits sur l'estime et la reconnaissance de l'humanité."[1]

We must therefore look for direct Physiocratic influence on Young in works subsequent to the English tours. Until they were completed, similarity of opinion must simply be taken as a case of great minds thinking alike. Not until 1774 was Young familiar with the teaching of Quesnay.[2]

The despondent English farmer of to-day may at all events be grateful to Arthur Young for urging on the Government the abolition of tythe in kind.

Writing to Tucker with regard to tables concerning prices, Turgot said : " Je suis étonné de la difficulté que vous trouvez à m'en procurer dans lesquelles les prix soient exprimés marché par marché sans être reduits aux prix commun."[3] We must realize, therefore, that the amount of space which Young gives to the discussion of wages, labour and the price of provisions should not for a moment be considered as wasted. It would have been valuable had it served no other purpose but to draw attention to the fact that the variation in weights and measures throughout the Kingdom was the prime factor in many abuses.[4]

A man with Young's enquiring turn of mind was naturally bound to discover many problems the moment he gave any consideration to his data. Early in the travels

1. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,126. f. 64.
2. Vide subter pp. 105, 107, 123.
3. *Œuvres de Turgot*, ed. G. Schelle, Vol. III, p. 615.
4. e.g. *A Six Weeks' Tour*, p. 171. Speaking of Salisbury : " Their measure 18ft. to a perch." *Tour through the North*, Vol. I, p. 139. At Leeds : " Butter 8d. per lb. of 18 or 19 ounces."

he remarks : " There is nothing more remarkable than the great variation in rustic prices without any apparent cause."[1]

He seems to have begun by trying to find the relation between wages and prices. About Aylesford, for example, he says : " Labour and provisions in this country bear no proportion to each other."[2] This he was to find to be the case generally.

Before he published the Eastern Tour he had read Sir James Steuart's *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Œconomy*, and at once used his own observations to support the Knight's thesis.

" He observes," writes Young, " that the rates of labour cannot be decided by those of provisions . . . attributing the variations to the competition of demand . . . But this is a new idea ; if it is just, the old one of *provisions* being the guide must be false. . . . We are to prove that labour *does not* depend on provisions ; it is an after enquiry to show on what it does depend ; and not so nearly connected with an undertaking of this sort."[3]

There follows a table contrasting the average prices of provisions with the average pay per week received by the labourers. The figures are so variable[4] that Young concludes thus :

" In a word I must be allowed to suppose that labour and provisions have no other connection than in very great variations and not always in them ; but in the intermediate spaces, the whole depends on other causes or on chance. It is not difficult to suppose several that may have influence.

" The great cause is probably the proportion there may be between the demand and the hands to supply it ; for if many men are wanted, and few to be had, prices will rise though the people lived upon air. . .

" And let it be remembered, that while provisions are at a *regular* price, labour is *irregular* ; great orders for

1. *A Six Weeks' Tour*, p. 83.
2. *A Six Weeks' Tour*, p. 179.
3. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 321.
4. e.g.

Average price.	Average pay per week.
3d.	6s. 5d.
3½d.	8s. 2d.
3½d.	6s. 9d. etc.

goods, from abroad, raise the prices much, though provisions remain exactly the same."[1]

Adam Smith reiterated the ideas of Steuart and Young when he wrote : " Variations in the price of labour not only do not correspond either in place or time with those in the price of provisions, but they are frequently quite opposite."[2] It was, however, for J. S. Mill to sum up the matter concisely. " Wages," he wrote, " not only depend upon the relative amount of capital and population, but cannot, under the rule of competition, be effected by anything else,"[3] but this theory has since been exploded.

Once more we have reason to support the statement that Arthur Young was one of the clearest-headed men of the century.

The average wage for a farm labourer is given as 7/9 at the end of the Southern tour,[4] 7/1 at the end of the Northern,[5] and 7/10 at the end of the Eastern.[6] As a digression, it is perhaps not without interest to note that during the reign of Henry VI, labourers earned about 2/4 a week,[7] while at the present time their pay is approximately 30/-.

While admitting that labour in some parts of the country is certainly too low,[8] Young is nevertheless convinced that " the rise of labour has more than kept pace with that of provisions,"[9] and a comparison of the wages already quoted with the average of bread at $1\frac{1}{4}$d. per lb. and meat at $3\frac{1}{2}$d. per lb. must surely convince the most casual observer that Young speaks with reason.[10] We are,

1. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, pp. 328, 329, 330. Young had reached a similar conclusion after the *Tour through the North*. Vide Vol. IV, p. 310 : " These tables prove that the dependence of the price of labour on that of provisions is extremely uncertain, if anything at all ; and in numerous instances the former seems palpably in contradiction to the latter."
2. *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, p. 67.
3. *Principles of Political Economy*, ed. Sir W. J. Ashley, p. 344 (1920).
4. p. 271.
5. Vol. IV, p. 296.
6. Vol. IV, p. 311.
7. *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*, R. E. Prothero, p. 25. " In the reign of Henry VI . . . the labourer could then earn a quarter of wheat in twenty days." Wheat was at 6s. 8d. a quarter.
8. *A Six Weeks' Tour*, p. 274.
9. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 349.
10. Ibid. p. 303. Higher prices are given at the end of the Southern Tour : bread 2d., meat 4d. (p. 261). At the end of the Northern : bread $1\frac{1}{2}$d., meat 3d. (Vol. IV, p. 279).

in short, almost bound to believe with Young that " the poor, generally speaking, have not a show of complaint."[1]

Young has represented himself as being very anxious to help in " levelling some of that rugged distance between the classes of life,"[2] but the poor cannot be said to have found in him the champion of their cause. Very often he rails with reason, and those of us who suffered from the effects of strikes in 1919, 1921 and 1926, to say nothing of the comfortably forgotten industrial crises during the last war, must necessarily find ourselves in sympathy with such remarks as these which follow.

" You will find that in the West and South of England the manufacturers earn nine and eleven shillings, the labourers five and six shillings. The former were those who rioted.

" In the East the manufacturers earn six shillings and sixpence, the labourers eight shillings. The latter were those who rioted."[3]

At Norwich again, where wages are generally high : " This city has been often pestered with mobs and insurrections under the pretence of an high price of provisions, merely because such dearness would not allow the men that portion of idleness and other indulgence which low rates throw them into."[4]

At first it is rather difficult to co-ordinate some of Young's remarks. On one occasion he says : " It is in the lower classes of the people in whom the nation's strength materially consists ; public prosperity much depends upon the balance of their earnings and necessary expenses. The latter should not exceed the former nor should their wages be so high as to bring on an exemption from regular labour."[5] This is quite reasonable, but a little later,[6] in the same work, we find : " If you talk of the interests of trade and manufactures, everyone but an ideot (*sic*) knows that the

1. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 364.
2. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 359.
3. *A Six Weeks' Tour*, p. 272.
4. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 76.
5. Ibid. p. 311.
6. Ibid. p. 361.

lower classes must be kept poor, or they will never be industrious. . . Let us therefore have no more futile complaints of the high price of labour from manufacturers, or noisy calls for lower rates of provisions."[1]

The truth of the matter is that Young, the champion of agriculture, is generally opposed to manufactures, partly because he saw them drawing capital and labour from the land, and also perhaps because he had an inkling, despite himself, that some day manufacturing interests in Great Britain would definitely oust those of agriculture. This fear may have been his bogey as over-population was later to become that of Malthus. The fury with which he refutes any such possibility makes this supposition the more probable—knowing Arthur Young's character as we do. " None but a fool," he writes, " can imagine that the landlords of this great Empire of above fourscore millions of acres, are to yield to the transitory sons of trade and manufactures."[2]

O tempora . . .

" It is manufactures," he writes again, " and a desire for their prosperity, that has brought on all the misery which our poor suffers, and which now arranges policy on one side and humanity on the other."[3]

He has some need to search for reasons, because he has already found that " the price of labour is in general high ; of itself one of the strongest symptoms of political health. ."[4]

Adam Smith, writing in 1773, bears out this remark. " In Great Britain," we read, " the wages of labour seem, in the present times, to be evidently more than what is precisely necessary to bring up a family."[5]

In what, then, are we to find the cause of the people's unhappy state ? The high prices of provisions is suggested as an answer.

" One of the most common axioms that have been laid down . . . ever since the first undertakings of Colbert, in the reign of Louis XIV, has been, that provisions

1. *Tour through the East*, p. 364.
2. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 362.
3. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 360.
4. *Tour through the North*, Vol. IV, p. 420.
5. *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, p. 65.

must be kept low, that the rates of labour may be the same . . ." Yet "where provisions are of very little value, labour we are told is extremely dear, from the natural difficulty of inducing those to work who can live without it."[1]

Examples to support this statement are easy enough to find. At Reeth and Fremington in the lead mines the men earn 1/3 a day and the women 1/-. "But the day's work finishes by twelve or one o'clock, after which no bribes are sufficient to tempt them into the farmer's service, even in the busiest times, not even for an hour."[2]

Similarly at Manchester, "I enquired the effects of high or low prices of provisions and found, that in the former the manufacturers were industrious, and their families easy and happy; but that in times of low prices the latter starved; half the time of the father was spent at the ale-house . . .

"In general, all these branches find, that their best friend is an high price of provisions. I was particular in my enquiries on this head and found the sentiment universal . . .

"The master manufacturers of Manchester . . are sensible that provisions may be too high, and that the poor may suffer in spite of the utmost industry; the line of separation is too delicate to attempt the drawing: but it is well known by every master-manufacturer at Manchester, that the workmen who are industrious, rather more so than the common run of their brethren, have never been in want in the highest of the late prices."[3]

Here at last perhaps we have the key to Arthur Young's apparent detestation of the poor. Anything approaching idleness was abhorrent to him, and when we consider that his habitual rule was to rise at four or five o'clock in the morning, having retired no earlier than anyone else, we can appreciate the fact that he had some cause to loathe indolence.

1. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, pp. 318, 319.
2. *Tour through the North*, Vol. II, p. 189.
3. Ibid. Vol. III, pp. 189, 193.

It must not be supposed that Young believed all the complaints made to him. There is the matter of smuggling and press ganging, for example. Young was told that scarcity of labour owing to the labourers being employed in or by these former was seriously handicapping the farmers,[1] but he does not hesitate to point out that he has failed to come across any harvest spoilt through not being gathered.[2]

Idleness, therefore, is the real cause of misery among the poor, and this idleness is definitely encouraged by what he considers to be the pernicious system of the Poor Rates.

Turgot had enunciated the matter very clearly in his article *Fondation* in the *Encyclopédée*. " Faire vivre gratuitement un grand nombre d'hommes, c'est soudoyer l'oisiveté et tous les désordres qui en sont la suite ; c'est rendre la condition du fainéant préférable à celle de l'homme qui travaille."[3]

The Physiocrats, too, were annoyed to see the industries overcrowded and the artisans, in times of inactivity, living on municipal charity when there were not enough workers in the fields.[4]

The average poor rate in the Kingdom was found to be 2/8[5] in the pound, but it varied greatly, occasionally being as much as 4/-.[6] At Chailey " poor rates run very high from 2/6 in the pound to 9/- rack-rent. I enquired particularly into the reason of this enormous height, and they told me it was wholly owing to a plenty of commons,

1. Vide Add. MSS. 35,126, f. 97. Letter from J. Baker Holroyd, dated March 6th, 1771 : " The very extraordinary scarcity of hands cramps me very much—all the lively able young men are employed in smuggling. They can have a guinea a week as riders and carriers without any risk, therefore it is not to be expected that they will labour for a shilling per week until some more and effectual means are taken to prevent smuggling."

cf. *Tour through the North*, Vol. II, p. 148. At Kirkleatham : " As to the price of labour, the variation between the times of peace and war amounts to a hundred per cent. For the press for sailors makes all the boys in the country to be cleared off for apprentices. . . . Pressing is carried to so infamous a height that in many lands men have been taken out of their beds in the middle of the night."

2. *Tour through the North*, Vol. I, p. 172.

3. *Œuvres de Turgot*, ed. G. Schelle, Vol. I, p. 556.

4. Vide *Le Mouvement Physiocratique*, G. Weulersse, Vol. I, p. 589 : " Comme Baudeau, Morellet s'indigne de voir les ouvriers de luxe, durant les crises de surproduction vivre oisifs, entretenus aux dépens des receveurs municipaux, alors que nous avons des terres incultes et que nous avons besoin de soldats et de matelots." " Reflexions au sujet des toiles peintes," pp. 169, 170.

5. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 338.

6. e.g. at Hagley, *Tour through the North*, Vol. III, p. 296, and Evesham, ibid. p.310.

which encouraged the poor to such idleness, as to bring vast numbers to the parish."[1]

Young tried to find some economic reason for this state of affairs but it was not easy to do so. " The rise of labour," he remarks, " has more than kept pace with that of provisions, at the same time that the rates have far out-stripped it."[2]

In all probability he was nearest the truth when he wrote : " Poor rates are never nicely proportioned to the prices of provisions and the necessities of the poor ; but depend on the temper of individuals, the caprice of parish officers and justices of the peace. They are as often raised by clamour as by real necessity."[3]

Finally, at the end of his Eastern tour, he remarks of the statistics, " From all of which it is sufficiently clear, that the variations in those sums which the poor receive either in pay or rates, do not, in scarcely any case, depend on their necessities. Increase poor rates, you pay most to those who want the assistance least. Raise the prices of labour, the effect is the same."[4]

Sir James Steuart had summed up the matter in a different way. " If, therefore, according to modern œconomy, the lowest species of labour must be kept cheap, in order to make manufactures flourish, the State must be at the expense of the children ; for as matters stand, either the unmarried gain as much as the married should do and become extravagant ; or the married gain no more than the unmarried can do and become miserable."[5]

Sir James neglects the simple fact that no man is forced into marriage, and it is therefore the business of the married man to suit himself to existing conditions not that of the State to arrange everything comfortably for him.

We have already noticed[6] Arthur Young's remedy for this trouble—the establishment of workhouses. As he had seen at Nacton, near Ipswich,[7] " the grand points in the

1. *Tour through the East*, Vol. III, p. 152.
2. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 349.
3. *Tour through the North*, Vol. IV, p. 329.
4. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 344.
5. *Political Œconomy*, Vol. I, p. 155.
6. Vide supra p. 32.
7. *Tour through the East*, Vol. II, p. 181.

establishment are, the poor being better taken care of than in the old parochial method ; and at the same time a saving of 100 l. a year made."

We must again congratulate Young for having carefully observed an abuse of his time and also for having counselled so sound a remedy for it.[1]

Although Arthur Young did not deal very seriously with the question of population in his English tours, his observations, nevertheless, enabled him to make one or two important statements with regard to this matter.

It must be remembered that population was one of the great problems of the time. In England it was generally supposed that the number of people was decreasing. Sir James Steuart, for example, following Davenant, estimated it at 5,545,000.[2]

In France a school, generally known as the Populationists, had grown up. They directly opposed the Physiocrats. " L'idéal que les populationistes se propose, ce n'est pas tant de procurer à l'Etat la plus grande richesse, mais la plus grande puissance."[3] They wanted small farms and many of them, they were opposed to the use of machinery and they longed for the import of grain and the export of manufactures.[4]

It is interesting to note in passing that Arthur Young sided with the Physiocrats in the matter of machines,[5] which he strongly favoured. He complains that the number was insufficient in the iron works near Newcastle.

1. In Vol. II of *Political Arithmetic*, p. 20 (1779), we find another suggestion with regard to administration instead of the Poor Tax. " Perhaps it might be proper to pass an act, limiting poor rates for ever in all parishes to a sum not exceeding the average of the last seven years. And then to enact that no parochial assistance of any sort whatever should be given under the age of sixty years except to persons with broken limbs or other impossibilities of supporting themselves. Annexed to these acts a tax to be laid on the amount of poor rates, beginning with ten per cent. applicable to the uses of the public, which might be gradually increased."

This is a very fair forecast of the Old Age Pensions and National Insurance schemes.

2. *Political Œconomy*, Vol. I, p. 44.

3. *Le Mouvement Physiocratique*, G. Weulersse, Vol. II, p. 269.

4. Ibid. p. 269-276.

5. Ibid. p. 294.

" Toutes les machines qui peuvent servir à diminuer les frais du travail des hommes . . . favorisent le débit et la production ; ce qui augmente les richesses et par conséquent la population." *Encyclopédée* : Art. *Hommes*, pp. 167, 168.

" There are no impossibilities in mechanics," he adds,[1] and concludes : " From whatever circumstances this subject can be considered as relative to ; from whatever points of view it is beheld, there is the greatest reason to believe, that mechanics for simplifying any work and abridging labour in manufactures are admirable inventions of prodigious use in rendering commodities cheap and in employing and maintaining great numbers of people."[2]

The Physiocrats said that the population of a country would increase as directly as the production of grain.[3] Turgot contradicted. " L'amélioration des terres dépend de la multiplication du peuple."[4] Sir James Steuart wrote : " Agriculture among a free people will augment population, only in proportion as the necessitous are put in a situation to purchase subsistance with their labour."[5] Adam Smith was perhaps a little wider of the mark when he stated, " The number of workmen increases with the increasing quantity of food."[6] When Arthur Young announced " It is employment that creates population,"[7] he was crystalising the idea which lies in Sir James Steuart's remark, and his theory is surely just as worthy of consideration and respect as any which have been quoted.

It will be remembered that the Physiocrats were always opposed to small farms. Young continues to support his previous convictions after consideration of his tabulated results at the end of the Northern tour. " We may draw from these tables," he writes, " this general corollary, which will state the case in the clearest manner.

" That the farms most advantageous to population, without exceptions, are those from 500 acres upwards ; and of such, those above 1000 acres are the superior ; those under 500 acres much inferior."[8]

On the same work he states that he cannot, in view of the flourishing state of the Kingdom, believe that Great

1. *Tour through the North*, Vol. III, p. 11.
2. *Political Essays concerning the Present State of the British Empire*, p. 219.
3. *Le Mouvement Physiocratique*, G. Weulersse, Vol. II, p. 333 : " En un mot, la population grandira aussi vite que la production."
4. *Œuvres de Turgot*, ed. G. Schelle, Vol. I, p. 457. Correspondance avec Tucker, Section X.
5. *Political Œconomy*, Vol. I, p. 18.
6. *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. I, p. 150.
7. *Tour through the North*, Vol. IV, p. 427.
8. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 254.

Britain has decreased in population as learned men maintained, by at least a million and a half since the Revolution of 1688.[1] He estimates the total number of people in England and Wales at between eight and nine millions,[2] and nothing he saw in the Eastern tour caused him to change his opinion.[3]

Modern research has proved how correct Young was in this estimation. It may now be safely assumed that in 1760 the population of England and Wales was approximately 7,000,000, and at the census of 1801 it was 8,892,536.[4]

Once more was Arthur Young rightly overthrowing one of the false ideas of his time.

We naturally expect to find an agricultural enthusiast like Arthur Young very anxious to see some improvement attempted with regard to the waste lands of great Britain.

He carefully notes any large tract of land which is uncultivated. At Lynn, Thetford and Bury as on Salisbury Plain ;[5] at Stamford, Coltsworth, Sherwood, the Yorkshire Wolds, Hambledon, Brough, Alnwick and Kendal ;[6] around Moreton and on Sedgemoor,[7] to quote a few examples, Arthur Young found deserted stretches, the great majority of which he definitely states to be capable of improvement.

Probably the only case in which his theories were definitely wrong is with regard to Salisbury Plain, on which he wished to grow corn.

He is equally sure to mention any definite improvements which he found carried out successfully,[8] and there is no doubt that his observations during the English tours led him to become the champion of enclosure.

1. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 456.
2. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 415.
3. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 462.
4. Vide *Population*, A. M. Carr-Saunders, p. 7 (1925).
5. *A Six Weeks' Tour*, pp. 41, 44, 46, 155 et seq.
6. *Tour through the North*, Vol. I, pp. 64, 83, 102 ; Vol. II, pp. 7, 88, 185 ; Vol. III, pp. 70, 131.
7. *Tour through the East*, Vol. III, p. 285 ; Vol. IV, p. 14.
8. e.g. *A Six Weeks' Tour*, pp. 21, 22. *Tour through the North*, Vol. I, p. 143 ; Vol. II, pp. 179, 420 ; Vol. III, p. 281. *Tour through the East*, Vol. I, pp. 214, 218, 254 ; Vol. II, p. 15.

The value of enclosure was no new idea. It was strongly favoured by the Physiocrats. Almost contemporarily with Arthur Young the Comte d'Essuiles wrote : " Toute jouissance commune n'est qu'une continuité de dévastation et de brigandage."[1]

Between 1727 and 1760 the number of acres enclosed in England amounted to 74,518.[2]

Young speaks very highly of Thomas Elliot, of Fremington. " Mr. Elliot in general lays it down as a maxim, never to attempt any improvement without enclosing. He takes in a field every year ; but the first work is surrounding it with a stone wall. This conduct ought universally to be followed."[3]

The advantages following enclosures " are not to be looked upon as merely beneficial to the individual ; they are of the most extensive national advantage. The improvements in agriculture, that source of all our power, must be trifling without them ; surely therefore, every measure that can promote should be adopted, every difficulty attending them smoothed and every injury redressed."[4]

Young goes on to point out some of the abuses to which he refers. " It appears clearly . . . that the proprietors of a lordship to be inclosed, give to the commissioners for executing the act, an unlimited authority of taxing their estates ; and including that unheard of power of being party, judge and jury in the whole affair of paying themselves."[5] Remedies for these evils are subsequently suggested.[6] They include such sensible ones as giving the small proprietors a vote in the nomination of the commissioners, withholding from the latter the right to pay themselves, and causing them to act immediately together while granting the right of appeal to individuals at their own risk.

1. *Traité Politique et Economique*, pp. 63, 64 (1770), quoted by G. Weulersse. *Mouvement Physiocratique*, Vol. I, p. 409.
2. *Esquisse d'une Histoire du Regime Agraire en Europe du XVIIIème et XIXème. Siècles.* H. Sée, p. 95 (1921).
3. *Tour through the North*, Vol. II, p. 194.
4. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 128.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid. p. 232.

Just as to-day the farmers appeal to the Government for financial assistance, so did Arthur Young. One hundred thousand pounds was the sum required.[1]

A little more than three years later he had evolved a scheme by which the Government should buy any waste land which came on the market with a view to improvement: "Twenty thousand pounds would effectually begin the work."[2] Failing the Government, a private society should be formed with this object. It was in 1793 that Young purchased his vast tract of Yorkshire moor. Contradicting previous statements, he wrote as follows.

"Now the great profit that is made by agriculture consists in the first cultivation of waste lands, and such farmers as have fortunes sufficient for improving can never turn their attention to such beneficial purposes as hiring wild, uncultivated tracts, where much land (whole countries) are to be had for a trifling rent."[3]

Between the years 1761 and 1792 the number of acres enclosed had increased to 478,259.[4] Owing to the growth in the number of people many steps had been taken in agricultural matters. Prothero has said that "it was the exertions of Townshend, Bakewell, Young and Coke which enabled farmers to meet the wants of a growing population."[5]

Enclosure had certainly become an economic necessity. Young helped people to realize this and his efforts to remedy existing abuses in its execution prove him to be a real benefactor. Thirty years elapsed, however, before any definite step was taken by the Government to abolish these abuses. It was eventually accomplished on the lines laid down by Arthur Young.

"Ce fut seulement en 1801," writes M. Henri Sée,[6] "que la loi générale sur la procédure des enclosures prit des mesures suivants: 1° les fonctions de commissaires seraient interdites au seigneur ou à ses agents, ou à ceux

1. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 397.
2. *Observations of the Present State of the Waste Lands of Great Britain*, published on the occasion of the establishment of a new Colony on the Ohio, pp. 48 et seq. (1773).
3. *Tour through the North*, Vol. II, p. 188; cf. p. 64.
4. *Esquisse d'une Histoire du Régime Agraire en Europe*, H. Sée, p. 95.
5. *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*, R. E. Prothero, p. 40.
6. *Esquisse d'une Histoire du Régime Agraire*, H. Sée, p. 93.

d'entre eux qui l'ont quitté depuis moins de trois ans ; 2° les commissaires doivent recevoir et inscrire toutes les réclamations ; 3° toute personne lésée a le droit d'en appeler des décisions des commissaires au tribunal du juge de paix."

Draining was another matter to which Arthur Young gave his attention. It was a worthy subject. Mr. J. Orr has remarked that credit for discovering the modern system of drainage is generally given to James Smith, of Perthshire, who published a book in 1831 called *Remarks on Thorough Draining and Deep Ploughing*.[1] The same author has shown us that from his remarks with regard to Suffolk, Arthur Young objected to the modern plan of making many drains running in the direction of the slope, contending with Joseph Elkington, of Warwickshire, that such drains should run obliquely and be strictly limited as to number, since careful placing would tap the spring at source.[2] But in *The Present State of the British Empire* (p. 131), we find it definitely laid down that the best method of draining was to dig channels down a slope 22 or 32 inches deep, 14 inches wide at the top, 4 inches at the bottom, the whole to be filled with stones, wood and straw and provided with as many outlet drains as possible. This suggests that Mr. Orr is misinformed. Young, moreover, did much service by pointing out to forgetful farmers that underground draining was common among the Romans,[3] and that with regard to land improvements, draining was the *sine qua non* of all others.[4]

Another improvement which he found by observation[5] to be very effective was that of paring and burning.

" Paring and burning," he writes, " is undoubtedly the proper method of breaking up all waste lands that are over-run with any sort of spontaneous rubbish, for it is the

1. *A Short History of British Agriculture*, J. Orr, pp. 65, 66.
2. Ibid. p. 65.
3. *Tour through the East*, Vol. III, p. 141.
4. *Tour through the North*, Vol. I, p. 274.
5. e.g. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 143 ; Vol. II, pp. 179, 185. *Tour through the East*, Vol. I page 254.

only way that kills it effectively ; unless lime is to be had in great quantities, cheap . . ."[1]

Turnips should be planted on these reclaimed lands, followed by oats and grass seeds. He cries out against the method of keeping improved land constantly in tillage.[2]

Young sums up his teaching for us when he deals with the improved lands in Norfolk, the majority of which county had been sheep-walks fifty years before, then let at a rent of from 6d. to 2/- an acre. The methods used were seven : (1) Enclosing without the assistance of Parliament ; (2) The use of marl and clay ; (3) Good courses of crops ; (4) The culture of well-hoed turnips ; (5) The culture of clover and ray grass ; (6) Long leases ; (7) Large farms.[3]

Young's remarks with regard to trees deserve a moment's thought.

All interested in arboriculture should be grateful to him for protesting, as he frequently did, against " the abominable custom of stripping up the trees."[4]

The fact that he was known to object to mere pruning, using the curious argument that one might as well cut off a man's arms to increase his height,[5] need not seriously detract from his other good service.

In the Eastern tour he dealt with the neglected matter of plantations, proving from several experiments which he had seen[6], that in the long run no husbandry or gardening could produce the same amount of profit.[7]

Finally, be it noted, " it is almost impossible to improve a country with spirit the roads of which are impassible."[8]

Here it is proposed to stop in the analysis of the English Tours. Enough has been said to prove that the author's work was as valuable to British interests as he himself stated was the case. The fact that it is now a matter of

1. *Tour through the East*, Vol. III, p. 293.
2. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 130.
3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 150.
4. e.g. *A Six Weeks' Tour*, pp. 77, 79, 251.
Tour through the North, Vol. III, p. 306.
5. *Rural Œconomy*, p. 431 (note).
6. e.g. *Tour through the East*, Vol. I, pp. 252, 333 ; Vol. II, pp. 119, 131 ; Vol. III, pp. 209-225.
7. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 495.
8. *Tour through the North*, Vol. II, p. 187 ; vide subter, Ch. X.

great difficulty in England to procure copies of these tours, because the majority of those on the market are bought by the Japanese, at once clears away doubts as to whether Young's methods and advice are antiquated. Japan is not reputed to be the home of lost causes.

Arthur Young himself, and the general deductions he drew from his early travels, will be our next considerations.

CHAPTER V.

Arthur Young's character—"My own portrait"—"My character"—Young's views on art and architecture—his style—his sense of humour. His opinion of the result of his English Tours. *An Essay on the Management of Hogs*, 1769. *A Course of Experimental Agriculture*, 1770—objections to fallows—drilling—vegetables—modification of opinions with regard to grassland. Contemporary criticisms of Young—his replies. *The Farmer's Guide in Hiring and Stocking Farms*, 1770—choice of farms—covenants—best forms of management—responsibility of gentlemen-farmers.

It may perhaps be felt that an estimate of Arthur Young's character and appearance should have appeared earlier in this work, but since the ablest description we have of them both comes from his own pen, we have refrained from quoting until now in order that it may be possible to qualify his remarks by observations made of his works.

The letter which follows was written to Miss Margaret Metcalfe early in the year 1809.[1] It naturally contains many references to his life subsequent to the English tours, but it is felt better to insert the description intact.

The recipient of the letter made a copy which is still preserved to us. She wrote of it to Arthur Young as follows:

"I cannot thank you *sufficiently* for the exquisite treat you have given me by sending your Portrait and Character! Incomparable!!! The hand of the Master is indeed visible throughout, though it is impossible not to lament that any of the glowing tints should be in the least degree softened by his innate Modesty: no mortal can mistake the portrait or doubt the character!"[2]

It is perhaps needless to mention that Margaret Metcalfe was a very great friend and admirer of Arthur Young. But let us read:—

My Own Portrait.

"I came into the world a fine-looking, thriving boy, and then gave promise of becoming in due time what is

1. Vide Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,130, f. 163 et seq.
2. Ibid. f. 161.

called a proper-looking handsome man ; such at least my glass told me and I did not quarrel with it as a flatterer, my height was above the middling stature, being about 5ft. 10ins., the then standard of perfection, but as an act of degeneration has since taken place what would *now* be condemned as gigantic—out of nature—*horrid* ! there was however something in my air, and figure *important* and attractive enough to secure as much of the notice, and attention of the part of the Creation I most adored as was sufficient to satisfy my amour propre—My eyes were of the hawk kind—Piercers such as could read the heart and soul of man—and woman ! a nose somewhat long perhaps but of an aquiline form and in good harmony with its companions, the mouth and chin ; the general outline or contour of the face,—*not bad*. My countenance ' The Window of the Mind,' of course full of fire and animation,—of energy, of enthusiasm, and if my smiles were pleasing, my frowns were *horrible* ! so much for my Exterior, now in a few words to give

My Character.

Bold, ardent, impetuous, enthusiastic, it was difficult to digest or analyse any part of it, the lion and the lamb had so whimsically blended themselves in aid of the whole that it seemed impossible to dissolve the union, although the first upon most occasions asserted its superiority, all that my mind seized upon it *grasped*, my energies were not to be confined, they burst the bonds of difficulty and opinion—what I chose to be—*I was*—I quitted my study only to take to the field, it was my passion, my pursuit, but far from straightening my ' sythe into a sword ' I bent my sword into a sickle ! I envoked Ceres who was my goddess, my genius—she smiled—I succeeded, my ambition mounted aloft, I was ' The Plough Share of Great Britain '—and if, as such, Harrowed up by Envy, I was, in the end rolled smooth by Fame—the exuberance of my knowledge burst forth in Annals, inscribed to my Goddess—my discoveries gained me applause—my experiments were never ending—*I dibbled Wheat* ! I scalded Hogs ! I yoked Asses ! and I measured counties as men measure Ribbons ! my temper was sweetly unstable, now grave, now gay, not an iota of

sans souci about me. *Apathy* was my abhorence, she dared not approach me. *Enthusiasm* my Idol! no matter in what form she came, what shape she assumed, I adored her in all, her influence was unbounded, endless, whether I turned my Plough or trailed my Harrow, whether I toiled for Church or State, whether I was at the feet of my mishaps or scraping my own at her door, all all, all was with enthusiasm!!! My prejudices were strong and my judgment at all times so warped by my fancy that it often betrayed me into great errors, then it was that the lamb subdued the lion. I was mild and quiet under correction, open to conviction, *enthusiastic* in repentance—and—in short I was An Original."

No doubt Young wrote the description of his personal appearance with his tongue in his cheek, but at the same time what he says may be easily corroborated by reference to one of his better portraits, and certainly he cannot be accused of over-estimating his good looks. He was definitely a handsome man.

After having read all the accessible writings which Arthur Young has left behind him, we are unable to change in any great degree the general outline of his character as he has drawn it. It is, however, interesting to make some additions from various revelations which he gives unconsciously while writing the English Tours.

Consider his views on Art. He knows very little about pictures but, like one of Mr. Max Beerbohm's heroines, he knows what he likes. "You will excuse my giving you my little criticisms," he writes,[1] "I am no connoisseur in paintings and may be so gothic as to praise a piece by a modern artist, when an antient (*sic*) one hangs by it."

At Hatfield House he saw Reuben's "Last Supper." "But more like a banquet of Vulcan," is his comment.[2]

The "Mona Lisa" is summarily dismissed. "Leonardo da Vinci: The Head of a Woman Smiling. Lively."[3] Which reminds us of the story of the curate who described his host's rare Napoleon brandy as "very refreshing." In

1. *A Six Weeks' Tour*, p. 197.
2. *Tour through the North*, Vol. I, p. 18.
3. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 332.

general, however, he admires the works of Rembrandt, Raphael, Durer and Vernet[1], which is surely sound taste.

The manner in which Young drew his farm implements was very good. Examples are frequent enough in all his works, particularly the *Elements of Agriculture*, and from what we see of his landscape sketching we may reasonably conclude that his drawing was considerably above the average in ability.[2]

" I know nothing of Architecture," he says ; " I never speak by rules but by my eyes."[3]

Usually he objects to Gothic buildings. Of York Minster he remarks : " I never met with anything in the proportion of a Gothic cathedral that was either great or pleasing ; the loftiness is ever too great for the breadth."[4] He objects to the preservation of Gothic ruins,[5] but at the same time he does not wish for existing buildings to be maltreated. Speaking of Beverley he says : " The Minster, for Gothic architecture is a very light and beautiful building . . . Its modern decorators . . . with true taste have given the venerable pile just such an entrance as you would imagine for a cake-house ; a *new-fashioned* iron rail, and gate *handsomely* adorned with gilding, and a modern stone wall with two urns of white stone, which, with a few reliefs cut on them, would do tolerably well for the decoration of a shrubbery."[6]

Young was sensible that he had received a poor education. Lacking in knowledge he strove to find consolation in philistinism but sometimes, as we have just seen, the general ideas of cultured people break through this armour.

Unfortunately, he is occasionally guilty of praising atrocities as great as the one which he has just condemned. In his description of Studley Park he speaks of " the Roman monument and Chinese Temple . . . with several other objects that throw a great variety over the scene and render it upon the whole truly beautiful."[7]

1. *A Six Weeks' Tour*, pp. 18, 31, 158.
2. e.g. *Tour through the North*, Vol. I, to face p. 333.
3. *A Six Weeks' Tour*, p. 6 (note).
4. *Tour through the North*, Vol. I ,p. 180.
5. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 302.
6. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 148.
7. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 304.

He loves imitation Grecian temples and Ionic columns, he preferred those he found to Gothic buildings, but his writings are really tiresome when he occupies himself with the seats of the mighty. His description of the Duke of Leicester's Manor at Holkham reminds us forcibly of the way in which modern newspapers dwell on the manner in which the aristocracy is dressed at Goodwood. We are given striking proof of Arthur Young's cult of the nobility—shall we say his worship of them.

" The State bed-chamber . . . On the bed is a cut velvet, upon a white satin ground, and, as it appears in common, is a very handsome gilt settee, under a canopy of state : the design of this bed is equal to anything you ever saw."[1]

In the introduction to the Eastern tour, the author remarked that he had received some complaints with regard to the descriptions of seats and scenery which he had given in the preceding tours. We can hardly be surprised at this. Young goes on to say that after consideration he has decided to continue his word drawings in the form of notes. Doubtless the country through which he passed during the last tour was not nearly so picturesque as that of the former, but there remains the most definite fact that the subsequent descriptions are few and meagre at that. This is the reason why examples quoted are from the first two journeys.

In extenuation of some minute details so frequently appearing, it should be pointed out that descriptions of country seats must have been very much more interesting reading in the days when only the privileged few could travel than they are at the present time. As Young remarks at the beginning of his Northern Tour, he endeavoured to cater for two kinds of readers—the domestic and the agricultural.

Young's style is usually most pleasing when he treats of economics. In agricultural matters he is too bound by dry facts, cramped by statistics, and in his descriptions of Nature he is inclined to gush, precursing the romantic writers by his spate of adjectives, and at the same time

1. *A Six Weeks' Tour*, p. 10.

indulging in companies of exclamation marks which we consider to-day to be the command of the schoolgirl.

Two quotations from his account of Keswick will illustrate these statements. With reference to Haws Water he writes :

" The upper end of it is fine, quite enclosed with bold steep, craggy rocks and mountains ; and in the center of the end a few little enclosures at their feet, waving upwards in a very beautiful manner. The south side is a noble ridge of mountain, very bold and prominent down to the water's edge. They bulge out in the center in a pendent broad head that is venerably magnificent."[1]

And again :

" What are the effects of Louis's magnificence to the play of nature in the vale of Keswick ! How trifling the labours of art to the mere sport of nature ! "[2]

Young has the reputation of having been a witty fellow, but unfortunately we see few signs of a sense of humour in the English Tours. He can write the following passage quite solemnly :

" After passing Newbiggin, you come to a spot called Dirt Pit, one of the most exquisite bird's-eye landscapes in the world."[3]

When we find an isolated touch of humour it is rather heavy.

At Earl Temple's seat at Stow, Young found a portrait by Reubens. " His first wife : an instance of the fatality of making his wives the models of his females. A painter should either be gay or marry nothing but beauties ! "[4]

Many critics have already pointed out the defects in Young's style. It is so easy. He mentions them himself.[5]

It only remains to see how Young viewed the result of his English Tours.[6]

1. *Tour through the North*, Vol. III, p. 133.
2. Ibid. p. 127.
3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 182.
4. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 30.
5. Vide supra p. 38.
6. It may be suggested that no mention has been made of Young's views with regard to British Industries. This has already been done by Miss E. P. Hunt in her book *Arthur Young on Industry and Economics* : Being Excerpts from Arthur Young's Observations on the State of Manufactures and his Economic Opinions on Problems related to Contemporary Industry in England : 1926 (Bryn Mawr. Pa.)

He states that he considers himself as collecting data for politicians to calculate upon. " I shall at least give them some authorities which they have not yet possessed."[1]

" Both public and private wealth," he adds later,[2] " can arise only from three sources, *Agriculture, Manufactures* and *Commerce*. Hence the connection and importance of the present reflections must be sufficiently manifest. Agriculture much exceeds both the others, it is even the foundation of their principal branches.

" In this view appears the vast importance to the State of carrying the products of the earth to the highest pitch of which they are capable. Raising them, as I before observed, is increasing general wealth, and raising the income of all the ranks of the people. . ."

" Let this nation continue to encourage and honour agriculture, manufactures and commerce ; to be rich in the possession of great wealth from a vast stock of industry ; let her see to these points and she need not be concerned about the number of her people. Population will take care of itself.[3]

At the end of the Easter Tour[4] Young wrote :

" From the general result of this journey, I may here add, that the Kingdom carries all those marks of sound health, wealth and strength of which I made mention in my Northern Tour, and offers every appearance of being in a most flourishing situation. The soil well cultivated, industry active, the people easy, rich and happy."

On this cheerful note we may leave our consideration of the English Tours. Not that Young did so. On the contrary we find that his next journey was to embrace Kent, Hampshire and the country to Land's End, North Cornwall, Devon, Gloucestershire, Hereford, Shropshire, Warwick, Northants, Rutland, Huntingdon and Cambridgeshire, " Which line," as he remarks, " will cut through all parts of the Kingdom not yet travelled."[5] Previously he had thought of Ireland.[6]

1. *Tour through the North*, Vol. IV, p. 169.
2. Ibid. p. 372.
3. Ibid. p. 414.
4. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 406.
5. Ibid. Intro., p. xlvii.
6. *Tour through the North*, Intro., p. vii.

Actually this itinerary was never followed. The subsequent journeys which Young made will be considered later.

The routes followed in the English Tours are given in Appendix A.

The output of energy in the English Tours was tremendous. Arthur Young's ability to accomplish work becomes almost amazing when we realize that in addition to the account of his travels the following books were published during the two years 1769 and 1770. Firstly, a short work entitled *Letters concerning the Present State of the French Nation* ; secondly, two essays—one on hogs and the other on coleseed, for each of which Arthur Young received a gold medal from the Royal Society ; thirdly, *The Expediency of a Free Export of Corn at this Time*, which met with King George's strong approval ; fourthly, *Rural Œconomy* ; fifthly, *A Course of Experimental Agriculture* and finally, the *Farmer's Guide in the Hiring and Stocking Farms*.

It is not a question here merely of pamphlets ; the *Course of Experimental Agriculture* covers some eighteen hundred pages, and the *Farmer's Guide* fills two octavo volumes.

If we first turn our attention purely to agricultural matters, we find that the *Essay on Hogs* consists very largely of reports on experiments.

The best way to wean piglings is proved to be on a mixture of pollard and milk,[1] meal best fattens the animals[2] and Young concludes that several kinds of food mixed are better than being given alone.[3] He draws attention to the very satisfactory results of clover feed.[4]

This is entirely modern management.

1. *Essay on the Management of Hogs*, p. 30 (1769, pub. 1770).
2. Ibid. p. 59.
3. Ibid. p. 63.
4. Ibid. p. 10 ; cf. *Course of Experimental Agriculture*, Vol. IV, p. 79 : " Nor can I omit this opportunity of observing that this husbandry of feeding hogs with clover is one of the most important of practices that the generality of the Kingdom is unacquainted with."

Young's verdict on Coleseed is that it is a most profitable crop, but not for feeding cattle.[1]

The sub-title of the *Course of Experimental Agriculture* adequately explains the work. It is described as " containing an exact Register of all the Business transacted during Five Years on near Three Hundred Acres of various Soils." When our astonished gaze falls on this huge catalogue of trials of all descriptions we are no longer surprised when we find Mrs. Young complained to a friend that her husband was ruining himself by experiments. Young says himself : " During several years, I tried many thousands of experiments, with an eager desire to discover the truth, and I rejected from absolute conviction all *comparative* experiments *at large* as leading to nothing but error."[2]

The first part consists of figures which most definitely prove the superiority of sowing such crops as turnips before wheat in preference to letting the land lie fallow. His money argument was the most likely one to convert ordinary farmers from, what Young no doubt called, their old slovenly habits. His conclusions are that the improved husbandry is double the expense of the old, but that it is thrice as productive, that the profit of it is seven times as great, and that only in bad years is it more unprofitable than the common method.[3]

With regard to drilling and the Tullian system of husbandry, the results of the experiments are conclusive. Although drilling is profitable, broad-cast sowing is much more so, and the author feels that with the insufficiency and inefficiency of existing farm implements " no farmer ever can or ever will manage it."[4] As he has written elsewhere : " I have seen no drill plough (not excepting those in the Society's room) but what would fall in pieces presently, under the rough hands of ploughmen. Common ploughs are everywhere of a strength proportioned to the hands they go through, and till a drill is discovered that

1. *Essay on Hogs*, p. 150.
2. *Farmer's Guide*, Vol. II, p. 483.
3. *Experimental Agriculture*, Vol. I, p. 48.
4. Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 324.

will bear such treatment, it is impossible to promote the new husbandry . . ."[1]

As is to be expected, Young's experiments did not support Tull's theory,[2] and his summing up is most definite. The following passage completes the ideas which have been given during the English Tours.

" I will venture to assert that all the tillage in the world will not make amends for the want of manuring ; these writers who are most sanguine in their praises of pulverization, particularly the prejudiced favourers of the drill husbandry, such as Tull, De Chateauvieux, etc., spoke contrary to facts ; they either never tried the efficacy of manuring or they were uncandid in their writings."[3]

Throughout this work the writer is always anxious to find the best time of year for sowing and the most profitable amount of seed to use.

Even as during the tours, beans are found to be vastly superior as a drilled crop. " The drill culture for beans I have found to merit all the praise that can possible (*sic*) be given to it : for wheat and pease the success has been much inferior, and even dubious : for barley and oats, utterly nought."[4]

Book III is entitled " Of vegetables, whose roots are used for the food of cattle." The result of Young's experiments bears out what has already been largely discussed in the tours. A few of the remarks are not without interest. Notice the following for example.

" I cannot reflect a moment on the great utility of knowing the average value of turneps per ton without expressing some surprise that so many practical writers should have treated of this very valuable root and yet never thought of ascertaining its real worth : it is for want of such precision that we see so many experiments so little experimental."[5]

It is a matter of surprise for us to-day to find that when Young began to grow potatoes he had never seen

1. *Essay on Hogs*, p. 125 (note).
2. *Experimental Agriculture*, Vol. I, p. 123.
3. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 368.
4. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 397.
5. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 87.

them cultivated in fields.[1] Such remarks as these help us to realize the very important work which was accomplished by means of these experiments, so dull at the first glance, for the average profit of £10 an acre is no mean one.[2]

We have already seen how fond Young was of grassland.[3] The experiments here reported led him somewhat to modify his previous opinions. "Candour requires me to remark," he writes, "that grassland is by no means susceptible to such great profits as the best husbandry of arable." He eventually makes the following classification. First, arable land in perfect management; second, grassland in middling management, and thirdly, arable land similarly conducted.[4]

The remainder of the noteworthy remarks have already been considered with reference to the tours. When a man writes so much and so fast as Arthur Young did at this period of his life, he is sure to repeat himself rather frequently.

Paris made an apt criticism of the *Course of Experimental Agriculture* which is worth quoting:

"In this work," he writes,[5] "there is certainly much to praise, but at the same time, much to reprehend. Mr. Young was truly sensible of its faults and constantly expressed his regret at having so hastily published it, and in his latter years, he made a point of destroying every copy that he could get into his possession."

At the time of publication, however, Young was very far from feeling so humble. At the end of the first edition to the *Tour through the East of England* we find the following remarks with regard to the monthly reviewers:

"They have done enough for me to make two assertions. First, that they know nothing of husbandry. Second, that they are quite uncandid."[6]

Later:[7] "They have made but small advance in their criticism: I expect in future every exertion of petulant

1. *Experimental Agriculture*, Vol. III, p. 206.
2. Ibid. p. 219.
3. Vide supra pp. 16, 55.
4. *Experimental Agriculture*, Vol. IV, p. 370.
5. *Biographical Memoirs of Arthur Young*, Quarterly Journal of Science, 1821, p. 285.
6. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 511.
7. Ibid. Vol. IV, pp. 519, 520.

malice ;—(for nothing but that of some secret enemy could have given rise to such injurious reflections as I have met with in their criticisms). " Such criticisms I look for. I expect all this and I shall be well satisfied with all, provided that they do not change their note, and give me that damnation in their praise, which their censures will never convey."

Many of Arthur Young's less admirable characteristics are shown in this clash with the reviewers. No remark of theirs is too small or petty to be analysed and pulled to pieces and his writings in his own defence are marked by childish outbursts of bad temper. The famed sense of humour is more elusive than ever to our anxious search and unless we remember what slap-stick methods were used at this time in literary duels, we shall find it difficult to believe that the author of the following passage ever possessed any sense of humour at all. We quote at length for once in order to show the manner in which Arthur Young sharpened his pen.

" An honest linen-draper in the environs of Newgate, by name Joseph Wimpey, run mad on account of the price of bread, informs his readers very gravely, in a visionary pamphlet he published, that I live in a garret in Field Lane, and quotes the Monthly Review, chapter and verse, for his authority. Now the reviewers are certainly such respectable gentlemen, that they have an undoubted right to pronounce a man the author of a book he never saw—and dub him a garretteer in a lane he never heard of. The progress of the criticism is droll enough ; and would make one believe that the linen-draper and the reviewer are one and the same person ; for in the account given of the pamphlet, the Monthly critic requotes much of the above, ' living by one's wits, etc. etc.' without any disapprobation and gravely adds, that this poor harmless being ' lays about him severely ' ; intimating that he is a most redoubted champion ; and in another place, the reviewer says, he ' shall leave the champions to fight it out.' But I beg to be excused from battles in which victory is unattended by honour. I thought the first pamphlet might impose on weak minds, and therefore refuted it ; in the second the

author is run *stark staring* mad, it is therefore the best antidote to the folly of the first."

It is hard, in view of the foregoing passage, to agree with the critic who said of Young that he "generally avoided personal attacks, or any observations likely to annoy his opponents."[1]

The whole affair is ended by an advertisement which proves how widely read and popular Young's works were becoming.

"As I have been mentioned in several periodical publications and newspapers as the author of books which I never wrote, I desire leave to inform the public that I prefix my name to all my works, and therefore am not answerable for any anonymous ones."[2]

The Farmer's Guide in Hiring and Stocking Farms was, as the author tells us,[3] the result of his reviewing a hundred farms after leaving Suffolk in 1767. It appeared in 1770.

"What a year of incessant activity, composition, anxiety and wretchedness was this! No carthorse ever laboured as I did at this period, spending like an idiot, always in debt, in spite of what I earned . . . ."[4]

In his opening remarks to the *Farmer's Guide*, Young says:

"I have written this work for the use of two setts of men, gentlemen farmers and common ones."[5] Adding: "There is no point of a farmer's life of so critical importance as that of hiring his farm."[6]

This is pathetic in view of Young's own lack of success. One is inclined to treat his writings on this subject almost with contempt, but they are, nevertheless, quite illuminating, though not always sound.

Naturally we have the usual statement with regard to the originality of his work, to which we are by now fairly

1. *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, Vol. XIII, 1842. Article on Arthur Young, by C. W. Johnson, p. 139.
2. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 525.
3. Ibid. Intro., p. xviii.
4. *Arthur Young: Autobiography*, ed. M. B. Edwards, p. 57.
5. *Farmer's Guide*. Intro., p. i, edition of 1804.
6. Ibid. Intro., p. ii.

well accustomed,[1] and then a discussion of soils containing the contemporary mistake of advocating very stiff clay for wheat.[2] After this succeeds a great deal of very elementary argument and fact as to the choice of farms.

Young next mentions some of the covenants proposed by landlords which are likely to be detrimental to tenants. Among them are a few which give a fair idea of existing agricultural abuses and show the writer's efforts to remedy them.

The tenant was sometimes bound not to break up any grassland or the borders of fields ; he had to feed his hay in the field and was frequently forbidden to sow such crops as oats, flax and rape. On the other hand, beneficial clauses prevented many croppings being taken in succession from the same land—beneficial that is when no insistence was made for a complete fallow.

The chief object of the work was to prove by statistics the varying results which followed different ways of managing farms, the proportion of grassland, the amount of livestock and similar matters. Young deals with all sizes of farms from those on which the farmer was in a position to make an outlay of £50, to vast undertakings on which £20,000 were to be expended.

This was an ambitious end which Young admitted himself, asking at the conclusion for any information which his public would give him.[3] His object in publishing the work was " nothing but assisting the honest cultivator in his closet, not by giving him ideas, but by helping him to cultivate his own ; and I flatter myself that this is reason sufficient for the latitude I take in my chapters."[4]

Young warns the gentleman farmer that unless he makes full use of his superior education he can never compete with the ordinary farmer.[5] Grassland offers the gentleman better scope than arable,[6] but he must not expect

1. *Farmer's Guide.* Intro., p. viii.
2. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 4.
3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 500.
4. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 99.
5. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 276.
6. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 37.

to make a fortune unless he has great capital at his disposal.[1] Above all, it is folly to take a farm of which the lease is less than twenty-one years,[2] and the novice must " on no account hire a farm where the gathering of tythes is customary."[3]

Surely the most captious critic cannot object that any of the above advice is unsound ?

The author's personal experiences lead him constantly to stress the fact that gentlemen farmers must beware of the dishonesty of servants and, in particular, of baileys.

The opinions offered are sometimes supported by moral tags worthy of a copy book. Young calls in Virgil to corroborate when he insists that " nature, in this country at least, requires *Art, industry* and unremitted *attention* in the cultivation of the earth, or she will not yield even small profits."[4]

At the end of the work Young gives some " Hints to Gentlemen who Farm for Pleasure."[5] These are in some measure the outline of an essay published in the second volume of the *Annals*. One remark in particular is most interesting.

Young begs gentlemen who farm for pleasure to be particularly careful not to recommend to farmers anything which may be unsuitable to them.

" This conduct is really necessary, for in the introduction of several excellent and really valuable practices, that of a single bad one in the hands of prejudiced and ignorant men, will fatally affect all the rest."[6]

Quite recently the great complaint of the agricultural experimentors at Cambridge University was that because one recommendation to farmers from the research department failed, the farmers immediately condemned all advice from that source as being worthless.

1. *Farmer's Guide.* Vol. I, p. 342.
2. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 74.
3. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 66.
4. Ibid Vol. II, p. 130.
" . . Pater ipse colendi
Haud facilem esse viam voluit primusque per artem
Movit agros curis acuens mortalia corda."
5. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 470 et seq.
6. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 480.

CHAPTER VI.

The Expediency of a Free Exportation of Corn at this time, 1770—the Corn Bounty—criticisms of Young as an economist. *Letters Concerning the Present State of the French Nation,* 1769—Young's treatment of facts—his condemnation of Colbert's policy—revenues—agriculture—*taille* and *gabelle*—general taxation—Young's belief in the stability of the French Government—French architecture, etc.—French literature—Comparison between France and England. *The Farmer's Calendar,* 1771—The business of a farm—Farmers encouraged to travel—" smut " in wheat. *Proposals to the Legislature for Numbering the People,* 1771—ultimate results of this publication—Young's views on the benefits of a census—on existing population. Young's increasing public importance. *Political Essays concerning the Present State of the British Empire,* 1772—revenue—the British Constitution—plea for an agricultural survey of the Kingdom—agriculture, manufactures and commerce—colonisation—probability of colonial independence—methods to prevent the loss of the Colonies. Young's private life—his finances—his general disappointments—his work for the *Morning Post*—his application for a Professorship.

Since *The Expediency of a Free Exportation of Corn at this Time* takes us once more from purely agricultural affairs into the regions of Political Economy, it may be as well to begin another chapter with a consideration of this work.

The author of the Life of Arthur Young in the Dictionary of National Biography says quite simply: "As a writer Arthur Young contributed nothing of importance towards the advancement of Political Economy . . ." We are inclined to disagree with so sweeping a statement, and are fortunate in having superior support.

" On questions of home or international trade," wrote Albert Pell,[1] " on commerce, on monopolies, on religious bigotry, on class arrogance or ignorance, on endowed charities, on the law of settlement, on taxation direct or indirect, on bounties and drawbacks, he seems to have

1. *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England,* Vol. IV, p. 22. Article " Arthur Young," by A. Pell.

reached truth not so much by slow reasoning as by flashes of instinct."[1]

L. de Lavergne has likewise said : " En général Arthur Young montre en économie politique, comme en politique proprement dite, une justesse extraordinaire d'idées."[2]

The tract under consideration, which covers less than eighty pages, is almost entirely devoted to the championship of a bounty on the export of corn.

On page six the author proves by means of figures that the price of wheat has fallen in England since the establishment of the bounty and, moreover, that it has fallen with every increase in bounty.

This fact is generally accepted[3] and was of special interest in France at this time. M. Weulersse tells us, for example, that " les Economistes . . . avaient pour objet presque unique la liberté du commerce des grains."[4]

As a result of his own figures, Young is able to argue that " those who urge the total repeal of the bounty, *to make corn cheaper*, talk against all principles . . ."[5]

Adam Smith was later to be one of these. " The effects of bounties," he wrote, " like that of all the other expedients of the mercantile system, can only be to force the trade of a country into a channel much less advantageous than that in which it would naturally run of its own accord."

In refutation of Young he goes on to say : " The ingenious and well-informed author of the tracts upon the corn trade . . . does not consider that this extraordinary expense, or the bounty, is the smallest part of the expense which the exportation of corn really costs the society. The capital which the farmer employed in raising it must likewise be taken into account. Unless the price of the corn, when sold in the foreign markets, replaces not only

1. cf. *Arthur Young's Travels in France*, ed. M. Betham Edwards. Intro., p. xxxviii : " That which his great contemporary, Adam Smith, reasoned out, Arthur Young seems to have reached with electrical despatch by instinct."

2. Introduction to *Voyages en France*, trans. Lesage, p. xxii (1860).

3. e.g. *Le Mouvement Physiocratique*, G. Weulersse, Vol. II, p. 521, where he gives Herbert and Dupré de Saint-Maur as his authorities.

4. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 195.

5. *The Expediency*, etc., p. 25 ; cf. *Political Arithmetic*, Vol. I, p. 58 : " Our ancestors gave a bounty on corn *in order to make it dear* : they never dreamt that they were taking the most effectual means to make it cheap."

the bounty, but this capital, together with the ordinary profits of stock, the society is a loser by the difference, or the national stock is so much diminished. But the very reason for which it has been thought necessary to grant a bounty is the supposed insufficiency of the price to do this."[1]

Here we have the matter in a very different light, but although wrong, Young's ideas are interesting, and it is worth while proceeding a little further.

From the point of view of the farming interest and therefore of the country in general, a fairly high, and above all, a regular price of corn is essential.[2] This is in a way an echo of the cry of the Economists in France : " Le prix du blé est trop bas."[3]

Again we meet the assertion that a high price of provisions is an encouragement to manufactures, because dearness makes the hands industrious, which they will never be otherwise,[4] and by his figures he shows, to ease the minds of the master manufacturers, that in no case can it be proved that labour is high because provisions are the same.[5]

With corn at forty-two shillings a quarter, Young would have a bounty of five shillings. Import subject to a slight duty should take place when the price had risen to forty-five shillings, and import, duty free, at fifty shillings. Export was never to be prohibited.[6]

In face of all these rules he remarks rather naively : " I again repeat that *a free trade* is the foundation of these regulations. . . ."[7]

Young was against free import of corn because he said in scarce years it would ruin the farmer.[8]

In only one of these things was Young supported by the Physiocrats, and they soften down his remarks with regard to manufacturing labour. " L'avantage pour le travailleur ce sera de ne plus chômer."

1. *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. II, pp. 7, 8.
2. *The Expediency*, etc., pp. 14, 30.
3. *Le Mouvement Physiocratique*, G. Weulersse, Vol. I, p. 474.
4. *The Expediency*, etc., pp. 28, 29.
5. Ibid. p. 21.
6. Ibid. p. 35.
7. Ibid. p. 37.
8. Vide *Political Arithmetic*, Vol. I, p. 278.

They contradict his remark concerning prices and wages: "Une seule condition est requise pour que la hausse des grains amène un relèvement proportionné des salaires, c'est qu'elle ne soit pas 'Subite et imprévue.'"

Finally: "A partir de 1768 les Economistes parlent d'un autre ton. Ils proclament alors que la liberté d'importer est aussi indispensable que celle d'exporter pour réaliser le 'prix vrai'! . . . . . Liberté pure et simple; mais liberté pleine et entière."[1]

The last telling point scored by Young is his argument that encouragement to farmers means they will be anxious to rent more land. Rents will rise in consequence of this, and "a rise of rent, of only one shilling an acre, adds £1,600,000 a year to the total of England alone . . . Keep the products of the earth at a regular price, and the higher the better;—you thereby are sure of increasing the value and rental of estates, and you at the same time give those advantages to manufactures without which they never flourished."[2]

Wimpey, in his *Thoughts on Several Interesting Subjects* had freely abused Young, and in his appendix the latter is at great pains to crush his opponent on every point, no matter how small. There is some vanity in the complacent way Young dwells on the fact that the third edition of the *Farmer's Letters* will be published at five and not four shillings, for Wimpey had suggested that it was now "frequently to be found on the stalls, pick and choose, for a shilling."[3]

There is no doubt that Young was wounded by the attack—in his vanity as much as in his opinions—and the manner in which he vindicates himself strengthens our belief that he was a quick-tempered man not much given to the mincing of words.

No one will object to the statement that the *Travels in France* are the most popular volumes of Young's works, and it is therefore unnecessary to make any apology for a

1. *Le Mouvement Physiocratique*, Vol. II, pp. 556, 354, 475, 483.
2. *The Expediency*, etc., p. 42.
3. Ibid. App.

close consideration of the *Letters Concerning the Present State of the French Nation*. In this early sign of interest in the neighbouring country we are sure to discover some statements of importance.

In the first letter Young shows a very sound grasp of the internal affairs and external politics of both England and France. Let us take one remark.

" A ministry in England," he writes, " has nothing so much to dread as war ; which, if their power be well or ill founded, is almost sure to overturn them."[1]

Again, he is found advocating maritime, as opposed to continental war for England, and is very much against the subsidising of Prussia.[2]

The chief mistake made in the chapter was underestimating the recuperative power of France.

" France, indeed, recruits her losses of war so quick that her government is deceived at the appearance, and because the nation is in a flourishing way, is too ready to conclude it able to support a fresh war."[3]

This is fundamentally correct, but Young imagines from his data that a renewal of the war against France would mean the end of her as a first-class power, and her reduction to the level of Spain.

He drew his conclusions from facts. He ignored national characteristics and, indeed, how could he know them ? He thought that because the French and Spaniards are both Latin nations, their characters must be the same, whereas nothing could be more untrue. If the Frenchman had resembled the Spaniard, Young's prophecies would have come true, but the recovery of France after a war has always been much more than an illusion. Actually she is more united than Great Britain, although her national credit is weaker.

We are not surprised to find that agriculture is Young's first consideration.

Naturally, he condemns Colbert's policy and insists that " had agriculture been the minister's object the nation

1. *Present State of the French Nation*, p. 12.
2. Ibid. p. 22.
3. Ibid. p. 9.

would to the last have proved more flourishing."[1] In support of this he draws attention to the conclusion of peace " in the midst of Marshal Saxe's successes in Flanders, because the people *starved*."[2]

The Physiocrats receive praise as is right and proper, although it must have been rather a shock to their leaders to find the Marquis de Tourbilli mentioned as the chief, and we regret the unconscious irony in Young's remark that the greatest agricultural encouragement given was the free exportation of corn, " which was granted by a *perpetual and irrevocable* edict in the year 1764."[3]

Curiously enough, the third letter begins by contrasting the slothfulness of the Spaniard with the industry of the Frenchman, together with a general comparison of national characteristics, the absence of which was so noticeable in the first letter.[4]

Young was, of course, blissfully unconscious of any contradiction, and had the matter been brought to his notice he would have stoutly refused to admit that his arguments cancelled one another. He never lost confidence in himself, but we are scarcely surprised to find that he was not universally accepted as a genius.

The third letter speaks of the importance and extent of French commerce and trade. Young much regrets the position of commercial power given to France by the Treaty of Fontainbleau.

When he deals with revenues his words are purely Physiocratic.

" It is ever worthy of remark," he writes, " that a tax had much better be laid on the land itself than on the land's productions, as the consumer always pays in advance for the tax beyond the amount of the tax itself."[5]

Already agriculture has been spoken of as " this first and original art—this foundation of all others."[6] It is peculiar in the circumstances that no mention should have been made of Quesnay and Dupont. The third maxim of

1. *Present State of the French Nation*, p. 38.
2. Ibid. p. 39.
3. Ibid. p. 44 (my italics).
4. Ibid. p. 42.
5. Ibid. p. 86.
6. Ibid. p. 32.

the former is : " Que le souveraine et la nation ne perdent jamais de vue que la terre est l'unique source des richesses, et que c'est l'agriculture qui les multiplie."[1] Similarly Dupont, before the appearance of the Explanation of the Economic Table, had at the age of twenty written in his mémoires : " La terre et les eaux sont les uniques sources des richesses, celles-ci sont toutes comprises dans les recoltes, et distribuées ensuite entre tous les hommes par les divers travaux de la societé par les échanges et par les salaires."[2]

Turgot, in his *Reflexions sur la Formation et la Distribution des Richesses*, similarly expressed himself in 1766. In Section LII he says : " C'est toujours la terre qui est la première et l'unique source de toute richesse ; c'est elle qui, par la culture produit tout le revenu ; c'est elle aussi qui a donné le premier fonds des avances antérieures à toute culture."[3]

It is the same with the octroi duties : " The misfortune is, that this tax which appears to be paid by the citizen, is most undoubtedly, in a great measure, borne by the husbandman ; for all taxes or encumbrances, on the sale of the land's productions, must fall heavily on the occupier, as the consumption is cramped and lessened."[4]

Yves Guyot says that the demonstration of the necessity for liberty of commerce is one of the great discoveries which social science owes to Quesnay,[5] and Mirabeau upheld the same thing in the *Ami des Hommes*.[6]

The *gabelle* and *taille* are both heavily censured. Of the first, Young writes : " There is not in nature a more pernicious method of raising public money than by this of monopoly—none that is felt heavier by the poor, nor more discouraging to industry " ; and of the second : " One of the most oppressive and unequal taxes the wit of man could devise ! . . . It is this villainous tax which will for ever keep down the husbandry of France."[7]

1. *Quesnay et la Physiocratie* : Yves Guyot, p. 31 (1896).
2. *Le Mouvement Physiocratique* : G. Weulersse, Vol. I, p. 87.
3. *Œuvres de Turgot*, ed. G. Schelle, Vol. II, p. 564.
4. *Present State of the French Nation*, p. 88.
5. *Quesnay et la Physiocratie*, p. 4.
6. " Le réel et unique principe de l'économie politique est de laisser tout libre." Quoted by G. Weulersse : *Le Mouvement Physiocratique*, Vol. II, p. 30.
7. *Present State of France*, pp. 86, 90.

Much of Young's teaching is out of date now and the capital errors of the Physiocrats were early pointed out by Adam Smith,[1] but we must remember that even Smith spoke of the agricultural system in terms of respect.

" This system, however," he has written, " with all its imperfections is, perhaps, the nearest approximation to the truth that has yet been published upon the subject of political economy . . ."[2]

Apart from the general thesis, very little exception can be taken to Young's doctrine.

He points out, for example, that since nine million people can easily pay sixteen and a half millions in taxes, whereas France finds difficulty in raising ten millions, " there must be an infinite difference in the taxes themselves, and the method of collecting them."[3]

This is abundantly borne out by modern opinion. Henry Higgs has stated that the *fermes générales* were scheduled at 150,106,875 livres, and the expenses were 132,305,658, leaving the total receipts at 17,801,217.[4] " In spite of the numerous reforms of Turgot and Necker," he adds, " the finances of France on the eve of the Revolution illustrate every possible defect."[5]

Obvious as this fact is nowadays, Young nevertheless deserves credit for having so accurately summed up a situation which was at the time an impenetrable mystery to the majority of Englishmen.

Yet Young was much deceived with regard to the solidarity of the French Government, which he described as being " without doubt, the most securely arbitrary of any upon earth ; many have the appearance of more despotic authority, but none of the reality."[6]

The standing army was the means " to perpetuate the slavery of the people,"[7] and the result of vaulting military ambition was that in France there was not " one well fed,

1. *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. II, pp. 168 et seq.
2. Ibid. p. 172.
3. *Present State of the French Nation*, p. 101.
4. France in the eighteenth century. Article : " Finance," *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, p. 76.
5. Ibid. p. 77.
6. *Present State of the French Nation*, p. 141.
7. Ibid. p. 125.

well clothed, *warm* and substantial husbandman—which, of all mankind, is to the State the most useful member."[1]

Letter VII contains a long list of French architects, sculptors, artists, engravers and actors, and contains in addition a typically English criticism of the French theatre.

" They totally forget that genius is antecedent to and above all rules—that rules were taken from the works of genius—not the works of genius composed in consequence of rules."[2]

French literature is the next subject handled. Young writes at the beginning of the letter : " I should likewise inform you that I found this letter on *La France Littéraire*, but with additions too numerous to specify in particular."[3]

Young's apparent ignorance of the leading Economists has already been noticed. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, to find the briefest mention of Dupin and Dupont,[4] but we are hardly prepared to read the following note on Quesnay. " One of the most noted Physicians in France ; his works are very numerous and in good esteem."[5] That is all.

We know that Young had read a number of copies of the *Ephémérides du Citoyen*, and the only excuse for his ignorance seems to be that the articles published in that journal were anonymous.[6] The same can be said of the *Encyclopédée*.

It is only fair to mention here that the names of the great Economists were no longer unknown to the author of *Political Arithmetic* in 1774.[7]

In the circumstances we shall expect to find Arthur Young's account of French literature interesting rather than instructive.

Naturally he does not agree with Bouffon's six classes of quadrupeds, birds, amphibious animals, fish, insects and

1. *Present State of the French Nation*, p. 149.
2. Ibid. p. 218.
3. Ibid. p. 220.
4. Ibid. p. 293.
5. Ibid. p. 333.
6. Vide *Le Mouvement Physiocratique*, G. Weulersse. A = Quesnay. H = Dupont. L or LB = Baudeau. Q = St. Péravy, etc.
7. *Political Arithmetic*, Vol. I, p. 209. Note.—Among other works the following are mentioned : *La Physiocratie* and *Tableau Economique* (Quesnay) ; *L'Origine . . . d'une Science Nouvelle* (Dupont) ; *Lettres . . . sur les Vingtièmes* (Baudeau).

worms,[1] neither does he show enthusiasm for Chateauvieux.[2] He approved of Carrard who said : " Nothing animates a cultivator so much as working upon his own ground,"[3] and in writing of Hamel mentioned, " This celebrated gentleman ought justly to be considered as one of the most useful men France ever produced."[4]

Carrard's ideas were directly opposed to the Physiocrats' and it is not usual for us to find Young so enthusiastically in favour of small farms.

The truth is that Arthur Young was continually torn between two enthusiasms—that of seeing a small-holder labouring to improve his lot, in accordance with the best principles of Adam Smith, and that of seeing large farms skilfully managed by capitalists, as in the Utopian dreams of the Physiocrats.

Being the man he was, Arthur Young cheerfully advanced whichever side of the question struck him as being propitious at the moment.

Herbert,[5] Mirabeau and Patullo[6] are dismissed very rapidly ; Rousseau receives a favourable criticism, although the orthodox Young hastily adds : " I am far from meaning to defend M. Rousseau's freedom in religious matters : I would only be understood to point out the ridiculousness of persecuting him, or anyone else."[7]

Few will take exception to this remark concerning Voltaire. " A more universal genius never lived, but like all universal geniuses he is super-excellent at nothing."[8]

On the other hand, we must challenge the eulogy of the Marquis de Tourbilli. " I may without the least hesitation assert, that this nobleman ought to be considered as the most useful author that France ever produced."[9]

The final letter is a comparison between France and England. The former Kingdom is quoted as being superior in extent, fertility, situation, populousness, general wealth

1. *Present State of the French Nation*, p. 253.
2. Ibid. p. 255.
3. Ibid. p. 258.
4. Ibid. p. 310.
5. Ibid. p. 313.
6. Ibid. p. 333.
7. Ibid. p. 360.
8. Ibid. p. 378.
9. Ibid. p. 376.

and public credit ; the latter in government, agriculture, commerce, revenue, army, navy, colonies, general prosperity and, *mirabile dictu* music. " In the aggregate of the whole, considered as a Kingdom, France is superior—as a nation, England."[1]

It was bold of Young to undertake such a work with so little knowledge. We cannot say that the attempt justified itself. *The Present State of France* is not a good book. It is a bad book containing some good remarks.

In 1771 Young published *The Farmer's Calendar*, " Containing the Business necessary to be performed in various Kinds of Farms during Every Month of the Year."

Generally speaking, the teaching is the same as that given in the English Tours.[2] He mentions some new things, however—the mangel-wurzel, for example, " it is very little cultivated at present,"[3] ridge ploughing for potatoes[4] and the extreme profitableness of parsnips.[5]

Between January and June, Young suggests to farmers that they might do worse than " taking their nags to see what other people are doing." He thinks that a man might easily travel four or five hundred miles, and estimates his expenses at a guinea a day.[6]

One of the agricultural problems at this time was the prevention of " smut " in wheat. Young had made enquiries with regard to this disease during his tours. William Penny, of Bendsworth, steeped his seed in brine[7] and Cowslade, of the Priory of Donnington, acted in the same way.[8] Reynolds had said : "About the year 1740 I discovered insects to be the cause of smut, concerning which a great deal has been said to no purpose by many writers on husbandry."[9]

1. *Present State of the French Nation*, p. 458.
2. e.g. With regard to methods of keeping and folding sheep (pp. 3, 268, 461) ; feeding cattle (pp. 9, 314) ; the profitableness of pigs (pp. 20, 388, 389) ; the value of plashing (p. 27) and of paring and burning (p. 175) ; courses of crops (pp. 504, 505), *Farmer's Calendar*, edition of 1804.
3. *Farmer's Calendar*, p. 151.
4. Ibid. p. 141.
5. Ibid. p. 92..
6. Ibid. p. 52.
7. *Tour through the North*, Vol. III, p. 319.
8. *Tour through the East*, Vol. IV, p. 44.
9. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 75 (note).

A year before, Young had said that in his experiments he had achieved no definite result with regard to smut.[1] Now, however, he is able to make a satisfactory statement.

"The modes of steeping, brining and liming are innumerable—all are equally intended as precautions against the smut. I made several experiments on this subject, from which it appeared that steeping from twelve to twenty-fours in a ley of wood ashes, in lime-water, and in a solution of arsenic, gave clean crops from extremely smutty seed, but a short time in these mixtures had much less effect."[2]

In 1788 M. Lapostolle published his *Traité de la carie ou bled noir*. "Dans laquelle on prouve, par une suite d'Expériences et par l'Analyse Chimique, que la Chaux est le principal remède pour détruire cette maladie."

The steep advocated to-day is one pound of copper sulphate to one gallon of water for four bushels of grain, or one pint of 40% formalin to thirty-six gallons of water for forty or fifty bushels.[3]

With this, Young's method compares the most favourably.

There is nothing else in the *Farmer's Calendar* of immediate importance.[4]

In the early spring of this same year, 1771, Young published a short tract entitled *Proposals to the Legislature for Numbering the People*.[5] We have seen more than a germ of this idea in the English Tours. The plan as suggested by Young is very clear, and it is most surprising that his advice should have remained neglected until 1801.

Professor Foxwell has said that the chief objection to a census was made on religious grounds, the staunch Bible student being afraid that Britain would suffer for such effrontery even as Israel under David.

1. *Experimental Agriculture*, p. 319.
2. *Farmer's Calendar*, p. 453.
3. *Fream's Elements of Agriculture*, ed. J. R. Ainsworth-Davis, p. 392 (1918).
4. On page 572 of the 1804 edition there is an interesting list of books which Young considers should be included in a farmer's library.
5. Probably published in April. Vide Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,126, f. 107, where it is mentioned in a letter dated 2nd May.

Fortunately all churchmen were not quite so unenlightened.

John Arbuthnot wrote to Arthur Young in 1781 to say that a certain Mr. Howlet, a clergyman in Kent, had been persuaded by the Bishop of Chester " to undertake a work of this kind for publication, and that there is already a part of it in the press at the expense of the Bishop."[1]

Three weeks later the Bishop wrote himself: " Your facts," he said, " are clear and decisive, and the conclusions you draw from them are unanswerable." In view of this the Bishop asks that Howlet may " take only your two *general tables* of baptisms before and after the Revolution, and for two more recent periods of 30 years each."[2]

Young consented.

We learn from this that no advance at all had been made on his suggestions during a period of ten years.

Except for the fact that Young wished for a census every five years, the broad outline of his plan is that of to-day. He says that general divisions should be made of counties, and also of towns and cities. " Every man, or family (if he has one) to be distinguished by his business or profession."[3]

He shows quite clearly the benefits which would accrue to the Administration—sufficient to outweigh the fear of plague, although he does not make this point.

The necessary information could be gathered by the collectors of the land and window taxes.[4] Young still disbelieves that the population of Great Britain is declining, but even if it is, " a clear knowledge of the amount and causes must precede a remedy."[5]

In this case Arthur Young is not a blind partisan of the idea he is supporting. Population is not everything.

" Success in war depends not on population. This is not the random assertion of an individual: all history, all experience, is centered in one focus, to prove the truth of it. . . . ."

1. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,126, f. 189.
2. Ibid. f. 192.
3. *Numbering of the People*, pp. 7, 9, 10.
4. Ibid. p. 39.
5. Ibid. p. 27.

. . . Suppose that France has twenty millions of souls and that Britain has seven millions? What does this decide? Nothing. Suppose France has a clear revenue applicable to the expenses of the State of four millions sterling, and Britain one of six millions. What does this decide? Everything.

" . . . The operations of a war are decided by money raised, and extent of credit. . . . Find but cash, and men will follow to the end of time."[1]

Apart from the closing remark is it unlikely that Young would have been obliged to change his opinion had he lived until 1920.

He was rapidly becoming an important public character. His correspondence was voluminous. Edinger, of Copenhagen, referred to him as " the father of all husbandmen,"[2] and in September he was elected an honorary member of the York Agricultural Society.[3] He was also elected a member of the infant Society at Hope, in March, 1772.[4] His " most masterly performance on the corn registering bill " was commented on and his aid invoked in combatting the Poor Law Bill.[5]

As the cynic expects, some of Young's friends turned against him. Comber,[6] for example, who had been an enthusiastic supporter in his *Real Improvements in Agriculture* " on the Principles of Arthur Young, Esq.," 1772, now wrote in the *Monthly Review* and, as Young says, " belaboured me with all the abuse he could accumulate."[7]

Young had more than his share of the penalties of success.

The *Political Essays Concerning the Present State of the British Empire* appeared in 1772. They dealt particularly with Britain's natural advantages and disadvantages, Constitution, Agriculture, Manufactures, Colonies and

1. *Numbering of the People*, pp. 15, 17, 34, 37.
2. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,126, f. 113.
3. Ibid. f. 109.
4. Ibid. f. 129.
5. Ibid. f. 152. Letter from James Frampton dated 23rd December, 1772.
6. T. Comber, Rector of Bucksworth and Monbourne, Hants.
7. *Autobiography*, p. 60.

Commerce, and covered five hundred and fifty-two quarto pages. This work had occupied some considerable time. Writing of the year 1767, Young says : " I remember once to have written a quire of foolscap in one day ! The work was entitled ' Political Essays on the Present State of the British Empire.' "[1]

It is because of the date of writing being so much in advance of publication that these Essays have already been referred to in the English Tours and elsewhere.

Economically, Young takes up the question again where he had left it in his *Proposals to the Legislature for the Numbering of the People.* " The complicated political interests," he writes, " which the numerous improvements and refinements of modern times have given some rise to, are all founded, and depend on *Revenue.* In luxurious ages, money does everything. Is a kingdom rich ? An affirmative to this query includes everything."[2]

It is necessary to draw attention to some of Young's opinions with regard to the British Constitution, because they pave the way towards the publication of *The Example of France—a Warning to Britain,* which excited so much controversy twenty years later. Young was then accused of having turned his political coat. This was true and he admitted it. Until the Terror he was a Liberal, afterwards a Conservative.

Speaking of the Constitution he says in 1772 : " It must be confessed that this is a very imperfect representation,"[3] and draws attention to the fact that there are some seven millions unrepresented Britons and two million Colonists in the same plight. A measure to enfranchise them would be " one of the best that ever was adopted."[4]

In 1793 there was no more bitter opponent of general franchise.

The agricultural propaganda is much the same as before, except that we find a suggestion for the institution of an order of Knighthood, containing four grades, simply for the ennoblement of the improvers of farming,[5] together

1. *Autobiography,* p. 45.
2. *Present State of the British Empire,* Intro., p. iii.
3. Ibid. p. 34.
4. Ibid. p. 40.
5. Ibid. p. 127.

with the announcement that " proper persons should be appointed to make a survey of the whole British Empire."[1]

The first of these suggestions has still to be followed ; the second was begun under the Board of Agriculture, though perhaps not so efficiently as Young wished.

With regard to improvements, Young begs for the invention of a threshing machine[2] and also for the enclosure of the royal forests and other wastes.[3] One of his remarks on this question is very apt to-day.

" But the period particularly adapted to such undertakings is the conclusion of a war. Vast numbers of men and families are discharged the service, who have a profession and employment to seek, and for want of having a proper one provided, for the most part, apply to none, and of course remain a worse burden to the society than when paid by it. . ."[4]

Since the political system of Britain has made manufactures a necessity they must be " harmonised " with agriculture and given every chance of improvement, because increasing employment will increase the people. Inspectors of manufactures under the Board of Trade should be established,[5] and the final method of encouragement is to give bounties on the export of manufactures " which is in many cases the most powerful of all."[6]

In view of these remarks, Miss Hunt's statement that, with regard to manufactures, Arthur Young " succeeds occasionally in tolerance " hardly seems adequate.[7]

The matter of Colonisation was one of European importance, and wise men of all nations were turning their attention to this subject.

Turgot wrote : " Les colonies sont comme des fruits qui tiennent a l'arbre jusqu'a ce qu'ils en aient reçu une nourriture suffisante ; alors ils s'en détachent. . ."[8] He

1. *Present State of the British Empire,* p. 161.
2. Ibid. p. 171.
3. Ibid. p. 164.
4. Ibid. p. 165.
5. Ibid. pp. 193, 195, 207, 208.
6. Ibid. p. 222.
7. *Arthur Young on Industry and Economics,* E. P. Hunt, p. 96.
8. *Œuvres de Turgot,* ed. G. Schelle, Vol. I, p. 141.

did not, in fact, believe that the colonial system produced the benefits claimed for it by the mercantilists. " Pour lui, la valeur des colonies pour une nation se reduisait a l'avantage d'étendre la langue dans un plus grand espace."[1]

Young, on the contrary, writes : " It may be observed that our colonies . . . are of infinite consequence to this nation. . . The exportation of manufactures is one of the most beneficial articles of trade, for it is the exportation of the labour of our poor which enables them to maintain themselves."[2]

The exportation of manufactures to foreign countries would naturally have the same result, but this matter of export to the colonies is one of prime importance in Young's scheme.

It is not ill placed to insert here the remarks of Mr. John Doyle with regard to the English Colonies in America, because they explain in some measure the difference in the attitudes of Turgot and Young.

" Though the men who administered the English Colonies might be at times corrupt or negligent, corruption and negligence never undermined the Colonial administration of England as they did that of France. Nor is there any reason to think that under a more liberal and enlightened system the Colonies would have advanced further in manufacturing industry than they did."[3]

Arthur Young by no means considered the system then practised as liberal and enlightened, but he was very much against the encouragement of any colonial industry or manufacture which could in any way compete with the English.

He, who so much objected to monopoly, could see no contradiction in the fact that he wished to keep for England exclusively the production of certain goods. " The production of staple commodities," he writes, " is the *only* business proper for colonies."[4]

1. *Œuvres de Turgot*, Vol. II, p. 21, written in the year 1766 : " Analysez bien et vous verrez qu'il n'y a exactement autre chose."
2. *Present State of the British Empire*, p. 338.
3. *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VII, p. 56.
4. *Present State of the British Empire*, p. 345. Contrast Turgot, who condemned the monopoly system with regard to Colonial trade. *Œuvres*, Vol. V, p. 394.

Consequently he preferred the tobacco and cotton-producing Southern States to those of the North,[1] but in both cases the shipping must be strictly limited. In an outburst of capitals we read: "There is nothing more prejudicial, and in prospect more dangerous to any other kingdom, than the increase of shipping in her colonies, plantations or provinces."[2] Are not English seamen already driven from the Newfoundland fisheries? The trade and navigation of the colonies is definitely injurious to Great Britain.[3]

It follows naturally that the Northern colonies should be suppressed in every way possible. Emigration thither, for example, should be stopped, but on the other hand, the Bahama and Summer Islands must be carefully cultivated,[4] while the boundaries of West Florida should be extended and a new colony settled on the Ohio.[5] Young by no means objects to colonies *ipso facto* and, after the events of the last war, it is interesting to find that he wished for the establishment of a colony on the Falkland Islands.[6] "There is a too common prejudice to be combatted with upon the very mention of such a place as that of a new colony. It is directly said, are we not plagued enough with colonies, not to want any more? Have we not colonies enough? Yes, doubtless too many bad ones; and for that reason we should plant more good ones."[7]

Consequently Young had no desire to see all the colonies shake off their dependence on the mother country. Although he considers that at present any attempt at independence would be succeeded by annihilation, yet he cannot close his eyes to the signs of union in opposition.[8]

By judicious management he thinks that the colonies may be preserved to the Crown for a very considerable period and the methods suggested are discouragement of manufactures and encouragement of staples, the impeding

1. *Present State of British Empire*, p. 252: "Nor can any maxim in the political interests of this country be clearer than the undoubted *mischiefs* we have suffered from these Northern Colonies, so very far are they from being advantageous to the Kingdom."
2. Ibid. p. 357, quoting Sir J. Child's *Discourse on Trade*, p. 225.
3. Ibid. p. 346.
4. Ibid. p. 362.
5. Ibid. p. 380.
6. Ibid. p. 459.
7. Ibid. p. 442.
8. Ibid. pp. 422-3.

of intercommunication and the forcible suppression of any militia force.[1]

When everything else fails, the King and Government should transfer themselves to America rather than lose so much valuable territory.[2]

Perhaps this suggestion was occasioned by the fact that in 1772 Young had himself serious thoughts of migrating to the New World,[3] but the majority of his arguments have not even the excuse of personal interest and are definitely bad.

Young wrote with equal decision whether he understood his subject or not.

When he wished to speak of commerce he was handicapped by a lack of statistics. It is strange for us to-day who are, rightly or wrongly, accustomed to turn to newspaper figures in matters of trade, to read: "I can devise no method of discovering whether the balance is for or against us. An exact register of all exports and imports, clandestine as well as legal, would tell it at once. But such a register is an impossibility according to the present system of revenue."

On the whole, however, he judges trade to be in Britain's favour.[4]

In order to safeguard trade, Young wishes for the colonies to be preserved to the Crown, a chain of settlements to be established across the Pacific, and a large and comprehensive policy conducted. By the last he means the suppression of monopolies and companies, the regulation of paper currency and the repeal of laws prejudicial to industry.

He had, however, as little faith as the Englishman of to-day in the qualifications of the Government, and gloomily concludes that he expects the North American Colonies will be left just as they are with increasing manufactures, that no new colonies will be established, that the

1. *Present State of the British Empire*, p. 428; cf. p. 419: "From hence we may determine that, as long as our colonies are *totally* free from manufactures, it is *impossible*, in any case whatever, that they should throw off their allegiance."
2. Ibid. p. 430.
3. *Autobiography*, p. 61.
4. *Present State of the British Empire*, p. 536.

East India Company will continue and that there will be an annual increase in the National Debt.[1]

And in all of this he was right, although we can scarcely blame the Government for failing to appreciate the extreme measures suggested by Young for the abolition of abuses.

There is one letter written to Young and dated March 10th, 1772, which is of interest, showing that already men were willing to travel far to see him.

This particular letter, written from Somerset House by Roderick Malltravers, runs as follows :—

" Mr. Ravelet, a gentleman, member of the Society of Agriculture at Rennes in Brittany, a great lover and practitioner of Husbandry, is come over to see the present state of that art in this kingdom and is particularly desirous of the honour of paying his respects to you. He thinks he has made some very useful discoveries in improving all sorts of soils, at the most easy charge, which he is ready to lay before you. If you can receive him, along with me any morning, please to fix your day by a line ; and I shall be happy in the opportunity of renewing my respects to a man so highly deserving of the veneration and gratitude of all mankind."[2]

In 1773 the third edition of the *Southern Tour* was published, together with the *Observations on the Present State of the Waste Lands*, from which extracts have already been given.

This latter work was adequately summed up by Paris. "The leading principle," he wrote, " was to form every year after the first four or five, a farm of just that size which would let the most readily in the neighbourhood, and when such a farm had been finished and let, to sell it, and apply the product of such sale to the progress of the improvement.[3]"

1. *Present State of the British Empire*, pp. 550, 551, 556.
2. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,126, f. 130.
3. *Biographical Memoir*, J. A. Paris, *Quarterly Journal of Science*, Vol. IX, p. 289.

From the literary point of view Young had not much of which to complain. In the ten years 1766-1775 he received no less than three thousand pounds from writings,[1] but this was insufficient.

Of 1773 Young writes: "Here began a new career of industry, ill-exerted, of new hopes and never-failing disappointments. . . . The business of my farm at North Mimms was insufficient to keep me employed, and the intercourse I constantly had with London I considered as a means which should be turned to some account in the increase of a most insufficient income."[2]

He took up the position of reporter to the *Morning Post* at a salary of £5 5s. 0d. a week. "Every Saturday I walked seventeen miles to my farm, and back again on the Monday morning."[3]

Doubtless the newspaper profited from the reports of parliamentary speeches which it received, but so sustained an absence was not likely to improve the farming at North Mimms.

"I worked," announces Young, "more like a coal-heaver, though without his reward, than a man acting only from a predominant impulse."[4]

A small reward was at hand, however. On December 9th, 1773, Arthur Young was elected Chairman of the Agricultural Committee attached to the local Herefordshire Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.[5]

Young was aiming higher. He hoped for a professorship, as we learn from a letter written to John Wilkes on May 25th of this year.

"The late Mr. Temple, of Trowbridge, having in his will left £2,000 for the establishment of a professorship of trade political agriculture, etc., and vested it with the appointment of the professor in the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen; may I take the liberty of requesting your

1. *Biographical Memoir.*
2. *Autobiography*, p. 62.
3. Ibid. p. 63.
4. *Biographical Memoir*, J. A. Paris, p. 289.
5. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,126, f. 161. The date given in the *Autobiography* p. 59, is 1772, but evidently Young had not referred to his correspondence.

vote and interest upon the election of such professor . . . The design of Mr. Temple is entirely in my line of enquiry and the works I have sent into the world consistent with the principles laid down by that gentlemen in his tract, *A Vindication of Commerce and the Act.* If I am successful in my application I shall be ready to undertake any public performance that may be thought conducive to the cause Mr. Temple meant to patronise."[1]

Young was again disappointed. It was not until 1774, when he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, that he received any adequate reward. This was after the publication of the *Political Arithmetic.*

1. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 30,871, f. 185.

CHAPTER VII.

Political Arithmetic. Young's interest in France. Young and the Physiocrats. His advice to France. Taxes. Prices. Leases. Young's increasing fame. His life continued—first visit to Ireland, 1776—first Irish tour—theft of his notes—introduction to Lord Kingsborough—return to Ireland, 1777—journey to Mitchelstown—his attempted reforms—domestic intrigues—Young leaves Lord Kingsborough's service—he returns to Bradfield, 1779—his opinion of the *Tour in Ireland*. Wakefield's and Hutton's criticism of the same work. Independence of Young's economic opinions. Other Irish tourists. Preliminary consideration of Young's tour.

The majority of Arthur Young's *Political Arithmetic* consists in the reiteration of ideas with which we are already familiar.

The first glance, however, reveals one important fact. It is that Young has been reading widely, particularly French literature. Consequently his opinions are no longer merely bald statements. They are supported by or contrasted with those of many prominent contemporaries.

Young's interest in France was reciprocated. M. Freville translated the work under discussion and published it at the Hague in 1775. This was not his only effort, for we read: "The same gentleman translated my *Tours*; and I may be pardoned, perhaps, if I observe that translations of all performances of that kind should be exact. M. Freville has too much genuis for translation: he has made me speak in a style much superior to my own; but whether my husbandry is improved may be questionable. In the *Political Arithmetic* such alterations are made that in some passages I hardly recognized myself. . . . I cannot, however, omit returning my acknowledgements to that gentleman, for the many handsome things he has much too liberally added in my favour."[1]

The *Political Arithmetic* was extremely popular. The idea was not new either in England or France, but Young's definiteness was pleasing.

1. *Political Arithmetic*, Part II, p. 46, note (1779).

" Petty avait fondé l'arithmétique politique," we read, " et Melon d'après lui, avait proclamé que ' tout est reductible au calcul.' "[1] Generally speaking, however, Young has borrowed little but the title.

For example, he at once sees the weaknesses in the Physiocrats' arguments. They maintained that all taxes fall ultimately on the land. " That the maxim is false," writes Young, " and founded on nothing but absurdity, has been very clearly though elaborately proved by Sir James Steuart."[2]

" It is incredible," we find elsewhere, " that the French œconomists should so far mistake the very principles of encouragement to agriculture as to declaim against luxury.[3] . . And what a contradiction is it to esteem all expenses unproductive that are not actually employed in cultivation. If the luxurious way of spending a fortune in this age was changed for the simple manners of three hundred years ago, would agriculture be encouraged thereby ? Such ideas are extremely ill-founded, and can never be reduced to practice without the most mischievous consequences."[4]

Later he wrote : [5]" Upon the whole, this gentleman (Dupont) and the Marquis de Mirabeau, with many other French writers, seem to have recommended the abolition of all taxes on consumption in favour of a simple land tax rather for the sake of getting rid of farmers of the revenue, and other great abuses, than from any positive conviction of the excellence of the plan : and in the pursuit of the notion they have run into two common errors, a disposition to condemn everything they find at home ; and on the contrary, in their recommendation, to launch into an hypothesis to which every circumstance, every fact, and every thought must be squared. I know nothing more likely to lead to erroneous conclusions."

The capital error of the Physiocratic system, according to Adam Smith, lay in the representation of the class of artificers, manufacturers and merchants " as altogether

1. *Le Mouvement Physiocratique*, G. Weulersse, Vol. II, p. 125.
2. *Political Arithmetic*, Part I, p. 210 (1774).
3. Ibid. p. 53 (note).
4. Ibid. p. 54.
5. Ibid. p. 236.

barren and unproductive. The annual produce of the land and labour of any society," he continues, "can be augmented only in two ways; either first by some improvement in the productive powers of the useful labour actually maintained within it; or secondly, by some increase in the quantity of that labour."[1]

All of this is a development of the ideas of Sir James Steuart and Arthur Young. Has not the former written thus?

"Let it never be said that there are too many manufactures in a free country. It is the same as if it was said there are too few idle persons, too few beggars, and too many husbandmen."[2]

Young proves conclusively that Mirabeau's tax on the nett product would be in reality merely another *taille*[3], but he pays credit to him, to Quesnay and to Dupont because they were actuated by a sincere wish to improve the conditions in their country.[4] Moreover, there are many things in Quesnay's doctrine with which he is in the fullest agreement.[5]

His advice to France was: "Ease your husbandry by abolishing the taille, and throw the burthen into additional taxes on consumption, you will thereby tax the farmers only when they are luxurious consumers, and you remedy the nobles' exemption by making every rank and class pay in proportion to their expenses."[6]

1. *Wealth of Nations*, Vol. II, pp. 168, 170.
2. *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Œconomy*, Vol. I, p. 152.
3. *Political Arithmetic*, Part I, p. 220.
4. Ibid. p. 254.
5. The following are mentioned particularly, pp. 254 et seq.:—

Maxim IV. "Que la propriété des bien fonds et des richesses soit assurée à ceux qui en soient les possesseurs légitimes; *Car la Sûreté de la Propriété est le fondement essentiel de l'ordre économique de la Société.*"

Maxim VI. "Que les avances des cultivateurs soient suffisantes pour faire renaître annuellement par les dépenses de la culture des terres le plus grand produit possible."

Maxim VII. "Que la totalité des sommes de revenue rentre dans la circulation annuelle et la parcoure dans toute son étendue."

Maxim IX. "... *le royaume doit être bien peuplé de riches cultivateurs.*"

Maxim X. "La non valeur avec abondance n'est point richesse, la cherté avec disette est misère. L'abondance avec cherté (permanente) est opulence."

"An incomparable idea," writes Young of the last, "which deserves to be written in letters of gold."

For the Maxims, see also *Quesnay et la Physiocratie* (Yves Guyot), pp. 32, 33, 34.

6. *Political Arithmetic*, Part I, p. 265.

The system in England is certainly a better one, but "if all the taxes of England were consolidated into this general branch *on consumption*, our system would be still more perfect."[1]

By 1779, Young's ideas had still further developed, and we find him advocating an income tax of 7%.[2] If this tax did not at present average 20%, the English would feel more gratitude to Arthur Young for an enlightened suggestion.

There is no change in this work with regard to Young's theories concerning population, but it is necessary to quote a remark on the subject of prices, which is most certainly a step forward.

"Prices depend on quantity of money . . . Here it is proper to remark that the importance which I give to general wealth is founded on the same principle with that laid down by *Montesquieu* and Mr. *Hume, that the price of commodities is proportioned to the quantity of specie.*"[3]

We search in vain through the English Tours for any conclusion so definite as this.

Another clear and true statement which we here meet for the first time runs as follows.

"The general dearness of everything is in all states the greatest sign of prosperity—no instance is to be named of a prosperous and flourishing country being a cheap one."[4]

The position to-day of the United States of America would have served Young as a good illustration.

We meet with the same plans for the improvement of agriculture in England, but since Young sums up the whole matter very concisely, it is perhaps well to reproduce one paragraph at length.

"The improvements which are much wanting in so many parts of England, are particularly the spreading the knowledge of good courses of crops, so as utterly to banish fallows; a practice pursued very generally in the counties I have named above (Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent), and which is effected by the introduction of turnips, beans,

1. *Political Arithmetic*, p. 15.
2. Ibid. Part II, pp. 11, 42.
3. Ibid. Part I, p. 112.
4. Ibid. p. 227.

pease, tares, clover, etc., as preparation for white corn—covered drains—manuring with marle, chalk and clay—watering meadows—the culture of carrots, cabbages, potatoes, sainfoine and lucerne—performing works of tillage with no more cattle than necessary—the use of oxen in harness—an almost general reform in implements—the introduction of the drill husbandry for beans—the culture of madder, woad, liquorice, hemp and flax, on such lands as are suitable—with several other points too tedious to mention."[1]

Young's enthusiasm for long leases is as great as ever, and he brings a considerable support of authors to his plea for enclosures.[2]

His economic opinions may now be said to have definitely taken shape, and he has the courage of his convictions for he several times contradicts Sir James Steuart and, at least once, Adam Smith.[3]

The clarity of thought in the work made for its popularity, and surely no one will grudge Young his reward of the Fellowship of the Royal Society.

The *Political Arithmetic* may not be considered to-day as a very valuable work, but Young spent a great deal of time in its preparation and published no other book until 1780.

We may gather something of the manner in which the *Political Arithmetic* was regarded from a remark made by Edward Wakefield. He refers to it as " a book which, in the opinion of many very able persons, is to be classed with the profound researches of Sir James Steuart, and the eloquent disquisitions of Dr. Adam Smith."[4]

Although pecuniary reward was not forthcoming, it seemed as though Young's spreading fame would bring him some lasting satisfaction. In addition to his Fellowship of the Royal Society he had, for example, been elected an honorary member of the Lautern (Palatinate) Society of Agriculture early in 1774,[5] and he spent the winters of the years 1774 and 1775 in London society. These things, however, made but little difference to him and we

1. *Political Arithmetic*, p. 168.
2. Fortrey, 1663; Fitzherbert, 1534; Tusser, 1590; Blythe, 1650; Hartlib, 1651; Vide pp. 363, 364.
3. *Political Arithmetic*, Part II, pp. 50 et seq.
4. *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political.* Intro., p. viii (2 Vols., 1812).
5. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS 35.126, f. 163, dated March 3rd, 1774.

read: "The last four or five years of my life had been detestable."[1]

In search of a new occupation, Arthur Young sailed from Holyhead en route for Dublin on June 19th, 1776. He carried with him many letters of introduction from the Earl of Shelburne, Edmund Burke and others, and immediately on landing he was introduced to Colonel Burton, who afterwards became Lord Cunningham. This gentleman took Young to Lord Harcourt's villa at St. Woolstans and was responsible for arranging the itinerary of the first journey through the majority of the coastal counties of Ireland. Young set out in a northerly direction and, as he says, "travelled four hundred miles 'de suite' without going to an inn."[2]

Having accomplished this tour he returned to England.

Unfortunately for everybody interested in agriculture, Young's trunk containing the majority of the notes taken on this journey, together with the samples of soils which he had collected, was stolen during the transit to Bradmore. The thief was his servant but, although Young pursued the man at law, he was unable to obtain any satisfaction, either legal or personal, for the property was not recovered.

By a letter written to Sir Lucius O'Brien dated March 5th, 1777,[3] we learn that the Dublin publishers refused to accept responsibility for printing Young's book—most certainly the first part of the *Tour in Ireland*.

If this had been carried out in Dublin it is probable that Young would not have taken his manuscript to England, so that the robbery and consequent loss of his first impressions would not have resulted.

This refusal to print was the first step in ingratitude taken by the Irish against a would-be benefactor.

It was in London, on the completion of his first tour in Ireland, that Arthur Young first met Lord and Lady Kingsborough. The nobleman was anxious to have an English agent on his estate at Mitchelstown, County Cork.

1. *Autobiography*, p. 66.
2. Ibid. p. 69.
3. Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,126, f. 172.

A certain Mr. Danby mentioned to Lord Kingsborough that Young was unoccupied, and since the peer was anxious to secure the latter's services, a dinner party was arranged.

" I had," writes Young, " a good deal of conversation with Lord Kingsborough, and the next day Mr. Danby made an agreement with his Lordship for me to become his agent at an annual salary of £500, with an eligible house for my residence, rent free, and a retaining fee, to be paid immediately of £500 more."[1]

Young disposed of the lease of his farm at Bradmore and, in the summer of 1777, returned to Ireland.

" In September I left Dublin for Mitchelstown—130 miles off—making a detour through those counties which I had not sufficiently seen the preceding year."[2]

Much was hoped for from this change of environment. " This was the first favourable turn that promised anything after ten years anxiety and misery, yet how little did I deserve from that Providence I had so long neglected. The year was a remarkable one in the events of my life."[3]

Some expectations were realized. Young's memorandum book, for instance, gives the total year's receipts as £1,145, and personally we disagree with the remark that he received more than his deserts. The religious note was most certainly added late in life, because we have already seen how much Young felt the neglect which he suffered and, moreover, his mind at this time was occupied with much more worldly things. A note on the year reads : " Wrote Alcon and Flavia—a poem."[4] Unfortunately, this is lost as well as the novels.

Mrs. Young joined her husband at Mitchelstown early in the year 1778. He was carrying out his new duties with his accustomed vigour and had rapidly appreciated the great abuses in local administration.

" I was most anxious to persuade Lord Kingsborough into the propriety of letting his lands to the occupying

1. *Autobiography*, p. 76. For memorandum of the agreement with Lord Kingsborough, dated February 26th, 1777, see Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,126, f. 171.
2. Ibid. p. 77.
3. Ibid. p. 75.
4. Ibid. p. 78.

cottar as tenant, and dismissing the whole race of middlemen."[1]

Like so many other reformers, Young was at once opposed by those who benefited from the abuses.

A certain Major Thornhill was at the back at the opposition offered. He was a distant relation of Lady Kingsborough and, as a middleman, had a farm upon the estate. His wife was friendly with Lady Kingsborough, and persuaded her that Arthur Young favoured a supposed intrigue between Lord Kingsborough and the childrens' governess. Once convinced that this story was true, Lady Kingsborough was anxious to get rid of the unwelcome agent.

The plan evolved was simple and effective.

" It was carefully impressed into his lordship's mind that I was in love with Lady Kingsborough."

Some colour was lent to the statement because Mrs. Young had already returned to England. No doubt the domestic situation had been strained in the customary way.

" Thus," continues Young, " by a train of artful intrigues and deceptions, the ladies brought Lord Kingsborough to the determination of parting with me, after which nothing remained but to settle our accounts."[2]

Lord Kingsborough paid for the breach of contract by giving Young an annuity of £72, which was most regularly paid, and the latter had reason to feel satisfied. He was glad to return to England because of his mother, and was thankful for the break which had caused him to give up his farm in Hertfordshire.

He left Ireland from Waterford and had a very bad crossing, which lasted for three days and three nights, to Milford Haven. During the voyage everybody on the vessel was ill with the exception of the captain and himself.

He wrote to his wife on October 23rd from Haverford West,[3] but did not reach Bradfield until January 1st, 1779, making a leisurely journey across the country.

1. *Autobiography*. p. 78.
2. Ibid. pp. 79, 80.
3. Ibid. p. 81.

There, he tells us, " the tranquil bosom of my good mother's hermitage—my native Bradfield—once more opened its arms to receive us."[1]

Tranquillity, however, did not suit Arthur Young's temperament. Besides preparing his Irish tours for the press, he made an agreement with his elder brother John, of Eton College, whereby at their mother's death Arthur should succeed to the property at Bradfield upon paying a mortgage of £1,200—reduced from £2,000.

At Michaelmas, 1779, Arthur Young took the management of the home farm at Bradfield into his own hands. He was enabled to do this by legacies which he received from two of his mother's sisters. Actually one of them, Mrs. Coussmaker, had made an erasure in her will which would have prevented Young from obtaining the money, but for the generosity of his cousin, John Newman Coussmaker, of Hackney, who had a special deed drawn up.[2]

In the summer of 1780 the *Tour in Ireland* appeared in two volumes,[3] and the author was promptly elected a member of the Dublin Society. Some letters of thanks accompanied this honour, but the correspondence finished with the despatch to Young of some unfavourable newspaper cuttings.

The author did not place the Irish tour on a level with the English ones.

Speaking of the former he writes : " Of that work I have not much apprehension. Though the success," he adds, " in relation to profit (even with the assistance of a subscription) was nothing, yet it will stand its ground and I trust merit, in some small degree, the most flattering encomiums it has received in many parts of Europe."[4]

Young next mentions his election to various Irish Societies and then continues : "But while their societies acted thus, the parliament of the kingdom paid my book a much greater compliment than any society could do ; for they

1. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. XV, p. 160.
2. Ibid. p. 162.
3. The exact date is uncertain, but there is a letter from the Dublin Society requesting an appendix, dated August 31st, 1780. Vide Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 35,126, f. 188.
4. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. XV, p. 159.

passed more than one act almost directly, which received the royal assent, to alter the police of corn, etc., which I had proved was vicious ; but which, till then, had been *universally* esteemed as the chief pillar of their national prosperity. I had thus the satisfaction to see the legislative of the Kingdom improving the policy of it, from the known and confessed suggestions of a work that, in other respects, had proved to the author a barren blank. . . . I have but one thing to say : *To Ireland I am NOT in debt.*"[1]

Wakefield bears out this assertion.

" Truth compels me to declare, although the assertion may reproach my country, that he has been ill requited for his exertions in her service, and that during the best days of his life, she seems to have been coldly insensible to the value of his indefatigable and important labours."[2]

The same writer adds a note on the Irish Tour.

" In 1779," he writes, " he began his Irish work in which he pointed out the folly of the bounty on the inland carriage of corn. His recommendation on this subject was adopted ; and from that hour may be dated the commencement of extended tillage in Ireland—See A. of A. Vol. XXIX, p. 167—His masterly observations on the penal code of laws against the Roman Catholics, in which he proved that they were not laws against religion but against the industry of the country, have been frequently quoted, both by writers and public speakers, as authority for the repeal of these obnoxious statutes, and his advice, to a considerable extent, has been followed. He foresaw the benefits of an union, and that union has taken place. Had the minor details which he recommended been acted upon, Ireland at this time would no doubt have been in a very different situation."

The *Tour in Ireland* was translated into French by C. Millon and published in 1800. In English the best known edition is that edited in 1892 by A. W. Hutton, containing a valuable bibliography. In 1925 Miss C. Maxwell published and edited a number of selected passages.

1. *Annals of Agriculture*, p. 160.
2. *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*, Intro., p. viii.

The last-named writer says in the introduction to her work[1] that " the valuable surveys of Irish counties issued by the Dublin Society early in the nineteenth century were among the first fruit of his influence. The Irish Tour has certainly ' stood its ground ' in that it remains our chief authority for Irish economic conditions for the latter part of the eighteenth century."

Hutton's criticism of Young's style is rather harsh.

" His phrases are careless and inexact, and he is apt to intercalate even into his most brilliant passages, statistics relating to such homely details as manures, and the like."[2]

With regard to political economy, the verdict given is open to criticism.

" As a political economist," writes Hutton,[3] " it must be confessed that Young is now very much out of date. He had definitely taken up his position on the lines laid down by Sir James Steuart before Adam Smith's epoch-making *Wealth of Nations* had been published (1776) . . .

" Perhaps he may be best described as an English ' physiocrate.' "

The teaching of Adam Smith is now as much out of date as the economic theories of Young.

Certain points on which Young disagreed with Sir James Steuart have already been noticed. We have only to turn again to the *Political Arithmetic* to find other matters upon which the two men thought differently.

As we have already seen, Young maintains *that the price of commodities is proportioned to the quantity of specie.* But he goes on to say, " As *Sir James Steuart* has opposed this idea, and endeavoured to establish another, in its room, it is necessary to say a word or two upon his arguments. . . ."[4]

A little later, in direct opposition to Steuart, we find : " Upon the whole, the matter turns principally on the

1. p. xv.
2. Intro., p. xi.
3. Intro., p. xv.
4. *Political Arithmetic*, Vol. I, p. 112.

proportion which holds between money and demand—throughout this essay I have supposed them the same thing ; because I see, whichever way I look, the expenses of all ranks of people increase with an increase of their incomes."[1]

Again : " And I do not comprehend how a country can greatly increase in wealth, through industry, without the *quantity of wealth* having a considerable effect in these vibrations."[2]

Sir James Steuart, as Young points out, was directly opposed to this theory.[3]

So much for Young's discipleship to Steuart. As to his being an English Physiocrat, we are already able to qualify this statement from previous consideration.

Hutton goes on to say with regard to Young : " His opinion that, as a rule, farming on a large scale has alone a fair prospect of success, can indeed hardly be said to be obsolete, since it has recently been revived in our own day. . . ."[4] We may well add that it has been carried to excess in Mr. Lloyd George's dream of land nationalization.

In the same way as the account of the English journeys, the *Tour in Ireland* was the first agricultural survey of its kind. Three other men beside Young had travelled through the country at approximately the same period —R. Pococke, D.D., Bishop of Meath in 1752,[5] and R. Twiss in 1775[6] and P. Luckombe in 1779.[7]

These gentlemen, however, treated their subject in the same way as their contemporaries treated England ; they spoke of country seats, of antiquities and local customs. Only when they speak of roads do they come near to writing in the same way as Young. Once more do we find the latter leading the way as a champion of agriculture. He was genuinely concerned for the future of the country,

1. *Political Arithmetic*, p. 116.
2. Ibid. p. 330.
3. *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Œconomy*, Vol. I, p. 394.
4. Intro., p. xi.
5. *A Tour in Ireland in* 1752, ed. G. T. Stokes, 1891.
6. *Tour in Ireland*, performed in the year 1775. Vide *British Tourists*, Vol. I, p. 275 et seq. (1807).
7. *A Tour through Ireland*. Pub. 1780.

and we cannot but be astonished at the unselfishness which caused him to work so hard without serious hope of reward, simply for the benefit of others.

At the risk of repetition we quote once more with regard to the *Tour in Ireland* and then we shall consider the work itself.

" It presented a vast store of agricultural and political knowledge relative to the cultivation and resources of that kingdom, which has been the means of ameliorating the condition, and of promoting the happiness of the people."[1]

1. *Biographical Memoir of Arthur Young*, J. A. Paris, p. 290.

CHAPTER VIII.

The *Tour in Ireland*, 1780—Young's introduction. His censure of the Government. His description of the peasants. Potato diet. Badness of Irish inns. Agriculture—England and Ireland compared—turnips—recommendations to the gentlemen of Ireland—the position to-day. Agricultural abuses—lack of manure—poor tillage—horses drawing by the tail. Mules. Cattle and sheep. Young's criticism of the political system—farmers and labourers—landlords—Popery laws—middlemen—absentee landlords—emigration—Government restrictions on commerce—the bounty on the inland carriage of corn. Roads. Young's general conclusions with regard to Ireland. Resumé.

"The object of every writer in rural œconomics," we read at the beginning of the *Tour in Ireland*, "is to make husbandry better. But before they attempt that, should they not know what it is? This idea has often made me, in reading books of agriculture, lament that the first chapter of every practical work, was not a plain, detailed account of the common management in the parish or neighbourhood where the author lived and wrote."[1]

We thus expect to find a careful observation of agricultural conditions similar to that which we met in the English tours. A great deal of this is tedious. The author himself realized the fact, but maintained that his lists were necessary for the adequate fulfilment of his plan,[2] and it is perhaps not irrelevant to remark here that so late as October 29th, 1926, at the Imperial Conference, the Economic Committee, in their discussion on wool, lamented the lack of statistics on the subject.

Since it is our endeavour to follow Young's life and development, we can well avoid taking the same close scrutiny of agricultural affairs that we made of previous reports.

For the unsatisfactory state of farming Arthur Young blamed the Government. "The legislature of this Kingdom has for a century bent all its endeavours to promote

1. *Tour in Ireland*, Preface p. iii, ed. A. W. Hutton (1892).
2. Ibid. Preface p. ii.

the *commercial* system . . . The entire administration of the Colonies has been commercial. It has been made a traders' project, and the spirit of monopoly pervaded every step of our progress in planting and rearing these settlements."[1]

It was this spirit, he maintains, which caused the loss of the American colonies, and emphatically concludes his remarks by writing : " *Liberty*, not trade, has been the cause of England's greatness."[2]

It is such remarks as these which cause Miss Hunt to say : " Young was a radical where any type of protection for trade, industry or agriculture was concerned."[3]

At the same time it is difficult to see how some of the measures proposed to favour agriculture were not in the nature of protection. Take the bounty on the export of corn, for example, and the fixed price at which import was to be permitted.[4]

The second part of the Tour was the most important.

" The general view of the Kingdom I have gained from the whole of the intelligence will, I flatter myself, throw Ireland into that just light in which she has not hitherto appeared. The many erroneous ideas concerning the rental, wealth and consequences of that island, with which every book is filled that treats of it will be here explained."[5]

At the same time it is not proposed entirely to ignore the chronicles of travel. Hutton wrote : " Miss Edgeworth was doubtless right when she described his book on Ireland as ' the first faithful portrait of its inhabitants.' "[6]

Here, at least, is an interesting place to begin, and perhaps more than interesting.

1. *Tour in Ireland*, Preface p. v.
In her edition of this tour, Miss C. Maxwell remarks : " In spite of his general level-headedness, the reader will observe that Young was a man of views and prejudices. A sound system of agriculture in a country counted for much more in his eyes than the development of commerce or expansion of a Colonial Empire . . . The agricultural state was his ideal, and he judged everything from that standpoint." Intro., p. x.
2. *Tour in Ireland*. Preface p. vii.
3. *Arthur Young on Industry and Economics*, p. 137.
4. Vide supra pp. 100—101.
5. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. I, p. 9.
6. Ibid. Intro., p. xii.

" May I be allowed to ask : have not Mr. Young's description of an Irish *Buckeen*, and Miss Edgeworth's *Castle Rack-Rent* contributed to the improvement of national morals and manners in Ireland ? "[1]

At the start of his journeys Arthur Young regards the Irish with surprise, as is usual with Englishmen—surprise mingled with a certain contempt.

Speaking of the peasants he says : " In short their pilfering and stealing is a perfect nuisance." " Great lyars (*sic*), but full of quickness and sagacity, and grateful to excess."

In fact, the poor in Ireland seem early to have won from him a certain amount of slightly grudging sympathy, because he usually qualifies his harsh remarks. The first of these, quoted above, for example, is followed shortly by these words : " They are much worse treated than the poor in England, are talked to in more opprobrious terms, and otherwise very much oppressed."[2]

Another striking example, is his opinion of the cabins. At Summerhill he thought : " If the Irish cabbins (*sic*) continue like what I have hitherto seen, I shall not hesitate to pronounce their inhabitants as well off as most English cottagers. They are built of mud walls, eighteen inches or two feet thick, and well thatched, and are far warmer than the thin clay walls in England."[3]

On the other hand, at the end of the tour he blames the smoky cabins for the blindness which was more prevalent among the poor in Ireland than in England.[4]

He frequently mentions that the staple diet of the poor is little more than potatoes and water,[5] but in general decided that they thrived on it. For propagation of the species it seemed to be unrivalled. Of Gloster he writes of the women : " For twelve years nineteen in twenty of them breed every second year," and he concludes the matter with more enthusiasm than grammatical accuracy : " Vive le pomme de Tere ! "[6]

1. *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*, E. Wakefield. Intro., p. xii.
2. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. I, pp. 60, 98.
3. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 45.
4. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 48.
5. e.g. Ibid. Vol. I, pp. 299, 346.
6. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 428.

It is not safe to believe everything that Arthur Young has written of the peasants. He saw many curious sides to their characters, and was therefore only too ready to believe any story with which he was provided by Celtic wit.

Edward Wakefield writes rather primly : " There are, I am sorry to remark, persons in that country (Ireland), who in order that they may enjoy the pleasure of misleading, purposely give erroneous information to the enquirer : even at this day I have heard Mr. Young ridiculed for repeating an account which was communicated to him of ' claret being given to ewes at a certain season." Mr. Young may have been imposed upon for once in his life, but the persons who laid such a plan were deceiving themselves, and injuring the public."[1]

This " pleasure of misleading " is still a popular pastime. Those of us who have travelled over the roads of Western Ireland can surely remember many occasions when our astonished gaze met a signpost which eagerly informed us that the town on which we had just turned our backs was some ten miles in front of us.

There are, nevertheless, many true and pleasing vignettes of peasant life.

"All the poor people, both men and women, learn to dance, and are exceedingly fond of the amusement. A ragged lad, without shoes or stockings, has been seen in a mud barn leading up a girl in the same trim for a minuet : the love of dancing and music are almost universal amongst them."[2]

The badness of Irish inns is proverbial. Even the advent of the motor car has not improved them as much as might be expected. " The extravagant expence of strangers residing at Killarney "[3] is not unknown to-day. Young's disgust was greatest at Ballyroan, where he " slept . . . at an inn kept by three animals, who call themselves women ; met with more impertinence than in any other in Ireland, it is an execrable hole."[4]

We might find another such a one even to-day without much search.

1. *An Account of Ireland*, Intro., p. ix.
2. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. I, p. 366 (Mucross).
3. Ibid. p. 362.
4. Ibid. p. 469.

Of Mallow, Young writes ingenuously. "Lodgings," we read, "are five shillings a week each room, and these seemed miserably bad. Board thirteen shillings a week. These prices, in so cheap a country, amazed me. . . ."[1]

Not many months ago an Irishman from Dublin passed through this same district. He went into a public house and ordered a large whisky. When he wished to pay, the price demanded was five shillings.

"Five shillings for a double whisky!" exploded the man from Dublin. "What do you think I am?"

"Och," came the soothing reply, "shure we thought you were an English tourist. Pay one and eightpence."

This seems to solve Young's difficulty.

We reproduce one more quotation with regard to the people themselves. It is Arthur Young's summing up.

"When I see the people of a country, in spite of political oppression, with well formed vigorous bodies, and their cottages swarming with children; when I see their men athletic, and their women beautiful, I know not how to believe them subsisting on an unwholesome food."[2]

The food referred to is, of course, the potato. Controversy on its suitability for human consumption was general at this time. We find the following passage written by Edward Wakefield.

"In my opinion, it would be an object of some consequence, if the potato were applied more to the use of animals as food, and less to the human race."[3]

Young has been proved to be right. Even to-day the Irish eat far more potatoes than the English. Physically, at any rate, no one can argue that the result is unsatisfactory.

Passing next to the agricultural matters it is naturally with some surprise that we read the following statement.

"There are many people who will smile when they hear that in proportion to the size of the two countries,

1. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. I, p. 309.
2. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 43.
3. *An Account of Ireland*, p. 321.

Ireland is more cultivated than England, having much less waste land of all sorts. . . Natural fertility, acre for acre, over the two Kingdoms is entirely in favour of Ireland."[1]

"More cultivated," however, must not be taken to mean "better cultivated," because, in his journeys Arthur Young met with many agricultural practices which filled him with horror. In the flax growing district of Ulster, at Newry, for example: "One, two, three, four, five oats and then leave it to the rubbish, which comes for three or four years; some potatoes and after it flax. I am now got into the linen country and the worst husbandry I have met with . . ."[2]

Turnips were not sufficiently cultivated, and hoeing them was "the great object wanting in Irish tillage."[3]

At the end of the tour Young recommends some methods of agriculture to the gentlemen of Ireland. In addition to the usual turnip and bean courses, we find some particularly suited to the country; for example, a potato course for light and dry soils which ran as follows: (1) Potatoes, (2) Wheat, (3) Turnips, (4) Barley, (5) Clover, (6) Wheat; and also three flax courses, one combination of which, for anything but strong soils was (1) Potatoes, (2) Flax, (3) Clover, (4) Wheat.[4]

To-day it is impossible to maintain that Ireland is better cultivated than England. There is certainly more waste land in the former country in proportion to its size and the barrenness of County Cork and County Kerry is not easily to be forgotten. The ministrations of the Free State Government do not seem sensibly to have ameliorated the lot of the peasants who eke out a difficult existence by farming small patches of stony reclaimed mountain land.

Anyone will immediately realize that the difference in temperament between Arthur Young and the average Irishman was enormous, and it is not a matter to occasion surprise that Young should have found many methods in practice to which he violently objected.

1. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. II, p. 5.
2. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 116. Edward Wakefield defends the North Irish for their succession of oat crops, but not very convincingly. Vide *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*, p. 372.
3. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. I, p. 330.
4. Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 281-290.

Manure was at a discount partly through poverty, partly through ignorance. We have already noticed some of his remarks in this connection,[1] and attention is frequently drawn to the Irishman's failure to comply with the first principle of good farming.[2]

Still more remarkable at the period was the almost prehistoric form of tillage generally practised. In Antrim, Down, Tyrone, Monaghan and Kerry there was scarcely a plough. All tillage was done by the spade and, as Young remarks, it would take forty men to put in an acre of potatoes a day.[3]

When ploughs were used the manner was not always irreproachable. Of Enniskillen Young says: "Here let it be remarked that *they very commonly plough and harrow with their horses* DRAWING BY THE TAIL; it is done every season. Nothing can put them beside this, and they insist that, take a horse tied in traces, and put him to work by the tail, he will draw better; quite fresh again. Indignant reader! this is no jest of mine, but cruel, stubborn, barbarous truth. It is sow (*sic*) all over Cavan."[4]

Arthur Hutton has a note on this which must be quoted. "This barbarous practice," he writes, "is mentioned by Dr. Madden in his *Reflections and Resolutions Proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland*, published in 1739. Neither he nor Young asserts that he actually saw the thing done; but in 1635 the Irish Parliament passed an Act prohibiting it, as also the practice of pulling wool from living sheep. In the same Parliament an Act was passed prohibiting 'the unprofitable custom of burning corn in the straw.'"[5]

We may make allowances for the eagerness of the Irish to mislead a foreigner, but it is not likely that Young

1. Vide supra pp. 58—60.
2. e.g. *Tour*, Vol. I, p. 100. At General Cunninghames' "I saw two large compost dunghills turning over and mixing, a sight not common in Ireland. It pleased me more than the sight of a palace would have done."
Ibid. Vol. I, p. 258. "On the shore . . . they actually *let their dunghills accumulate, till they become such a nuisance that they move their cabbins in order to get away from them.*"
3. Vide *An Account of Ireland*, ed. Wakefield, p. 360. *Tour in Ireland*, Arthur Young, Vol. I, p. 346.
4. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. I, p. 211.
5. Ibid.

would so frequently have mentioned the practice of drawing by the tail unless he had very excellent reasons for affirming it to be true. Certainly he found cases of corn being burnt in the straw,[1] and if we find no report of wool being pulled from living sheep, the following habit is much akin.

" I remarked for some time of late that the geese are plucked, and upon enquiry, that every goose yielded three farthings or a halfpenny in feathers per annum. They make a dreadful ragged figure."[2]

At Florence Court he reports " Drawing by the tail not done these seven years."[3] At Castlebar " they harrow by the tail."[4] At Westport : " They plough all with horses, four in a plough, directed by a man, walking backwards, who to make them move forward, strikes the beast in the face. Young colts they harrow by the tail. Twelve horses are necessary for one hundred acres in tillage. They winnow their corn in the road and let the wind blow away the chaff."[5]

It is not necessary, however, to trust entirely to Young. Wakefield says that considerable improvement had been made in Cavan in this respect in 1808, as he heard of *and saw* very little ploughing by the tail.[6]

In the West and South-West of Ireland to-day the usual mode of locomotion is by donkey-cart. Donkeys pull huge weights and carry enormous burdens for the peasant population, and the price of the animals is often as low as twenty-five shillings. Arthur Young was much struck by the favourable reports which he heard with regard to mules. This, in the circumstances, is not surprising, although, generally speaking, it was the Great War which opened eyes universally to the value of these peculiar beasts.

Of Lord Bective, at Headfort, Young writes : " His mules are sixteen or seventeen hands high, and he finds them of incomparable use ; they are in their prime at twenty years old, and good even at thirty-five ; he has had

1. e.g. Ibid. Vol. I, pp. 249, 258.
2. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 214.
3. Ibid. p. 205.
4. Ibid. p. 249.
5. Ibid. p. 258.
6. *An Account of Ireland*, p. 380 (my italics).

them some sixteen years, and in that time, with the work they have done, would have worn out three sets of horses, besides being kept upon less food. . ."[1]

Another longer and even more interesting account comes later. Of Mr. Cooper, of Mercra, we find this passage.

" Mules he finds of the greatest use. They are much longer lived than horses, hardier, easier fed and more profitable : but this is principally applicable to the small Irish mule, and not the large ones from Spanish asses, which are not so hardy and more liable to disorders. They are never fed so well as horses, yet go through more labour ; and are much superior to them for carrying burthens."[2]

Knowing the Irishman, we are not surprised that his farming should, in the eyes of Arthur Young, have left very much to be desired. His management of livestock was no exception, although we read : " The cattle in Ireland are much better than the tillage, in the management of the arable ground the Irish are five centuries behind the best cultivated English Counties."[3]

Sheep were unsatisfactorily managed because of the ignorance of the value of turnips.[4] Too many horses and oxen were in use because of the poor construction of the ploughs.[5] Only with regard to that most national of animals—the pig—did Young really find the management to be satisfactory.

In general, however, it is not the peasants whom Young blames, but the landlords, or rather the political system. As early as 1774 he wrote : " In Ireland the buildings on many estates consist of labourers' cabins only, who may so far be called farmers, as they have each their little field or two. These labourers depend on and are under-tenants to farmers who live in towns at some distance, the landlord deals only with these farmers, and the cabbins (*sic*) are left at their mercy. The most pernicious system that was

1. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. I, p. 152.
2. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 240.
3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 104.
4. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 107.
5. Ibid. Vol. I, pp. 298, 329.

ever invented. Was I entrusted with the management of a great *Irish* estate, I should set all these labourers free from the farmers, and make them tenants to the principal."[1]

We know how Young's attempts at Mitchelstown to remedy abuses led to his dismissal.[2]

In the Tour the landlords appear. " The lazy, trifling, inattentive, negligent, *slobbering*, profligate owners of Irish mountains, leave them, as they received them from the hands of their ancestors, in the possession of grous (*sic*) and foxes. Shame on such spiritless conduct ! "[3]

We are not to suppose that the peasant was held to be entirely blameless. That standpoint would have been unfamiliar to Young. In order to make him industrious the usual incentives of high rents and a comparatively high price of provisions are preferred.[4] Nevertheless, the sense of abuses and disadvantages to which the working Irish were subjected grew on the writer the further he travelled, and Volume II is very largely a book of advice and admonition to the Government.

" Such is the weight of the lower classes in the great scale of national importance, that a traveller can never give too much attention to every circumstance that concerns them ; their welfare forms the broad basis of public prosperity ; it is they that feed, cloath, enrich, and fight the battles of all the other ranks of a community ; it is their being able to support these various burthens without oppression, which constitutes the general felicity ; in proportion to their ease is the strength and wealth of nations, as public debility will be the certain attendant on their misery."[5]

Young found several things which seriously hampered the progress of the people. All have been variously dealt with by historians, and we are only interested in Young's teaching. The chief abuses at the time were the Popery Laws, the Middlemen, Emigration, Government restrictions on commerce and the Bounty on the Inland Carriage of Corn.

1. *Political Arithmetic*, Vol. I, p. 321.
2. Vide supra p. 128.
3. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. I, p. 399. It must be remembered that " mountain " refers to any stretch of moor or bogland.
4. Ibid. Vol. I, pp. 106, 115, 166, 402.
5. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 35.

On page 60 of the second volume we find an abridged edition of the laws of discovery. These are here inserted in the notes for convenience of reference.[1] Of these laws Young very aptly wrote: "In conversation upon the Popery Laws I expressed my surprise at their severity; he (the Chief Baron) said that they were severe in the letter, but were never executed. . . . This account of the laws against them brought to my mind an admirable expression of Mr. Burke's in the English House of Commons: '*Connivance is the relaxation of slavery, not the definition of liberty.*'"[2]

Young was quite willing to admit that things were not as bad as they were painted, but he stoutly maintained that they were still too bad.

"The age has improved so much in humanity," we read, "that even the poor Irish have experienced its influence, and are every day treated better and better; but still the remnant of the old manners, the abominable distinction of religion united with the oppressive conduct of the little country gentlemen, or rather vermin of the Kingdom who never were out of it, altogether bear still very heavy on the poor people and subject them to situations more mortifying than we ever behold in England." For, he continues: "It must strike the most careless traveller to see whole strings of cars whipt into a ditch by a gentleman's footman to make way for his carriage; if they are overturned or broken in pieces, no matter, it is

1. (1) The whole body of Roman Catholics is absolutely disarmed.
(2) They are incapacitated from purchasing land.
(3) The entails of their estates are broken and they gavel among the children.
(4) If one child abjures that religion, he inherits the whole estate though he be the youngest.
(5) If the son abjures the religion, the father has no power over his estate, but becomes a pensioner on it in favour of such a son.
(6) No Roman Catholic can take a lease for more than thirty-one years.
(7) If the rent of any Catholic is less than two-thirds of the full improved value, whoever discovers takes the benefit of the lease.
(8) Priests who celebrate mass are liable to be transported, and if they return, to be hanged.
(9) A Catholic having a horse in his possession above the value of five pounds is obliged to forfeit same to the discoverer.
(10) A Catholic is incapacitated from lending money on mortgage.
"The preceding catalogue," writes Young, "is very imperfect, but here is an exhibition of oppression fully sufficient." (p. 61).

2. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. I, p. 114.

taken in patience; were they to complain they would perhaps be horse-whipped."[1]

Unfortunately, the Catholic emancipation was delayed for fifty years. The centenary celebrations in Dublin in June, 1929, were marked by scenes of the greatest enthusiasm. No doubt much of this was political, but even an Ulster Protestant can sympathize.

"Let the Catholics be given an interest in the Kingdom," said Young, "and they will use their arms not to overturn but to defend it."[2]

"All reflecting men," he writes elsewhere, ". . . will trust in the wisdom of Almighty God for teaching man to respect even those prejudices of his brethren that are imbibed as sacred rights from their earliest infancy, that by dear-bought experience of the futility and ruin of the attempt, the persecuting spirit may cease, and *toleration* establish that harmony and security which fourscore years' experience has told us is not to be purchased at the expence of *humanity*."[3]

We all wish that Young's advice had been followed more speedily. By the time conciliation was adopted, the Irish were in favour of revolt.

This is no place to discuss the last civil war but on the whole, the Irish peasant acted from a not entirely unnatural desire to improve his lot. It is a pity that his new Government has not found means to do more for him.[4]

We have seen that it was the small gentry whom Young particularly blamed for the oppression of the peasants. Of the Middleman he wrote: "It is the *situation*, not the

1. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. II, pp. 53, 54.
2. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 71.
3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 64.
4. The attitude towards Great Britain during the Great War was in many cases that revealed by the following anecdote. An old Galway peasant was asked what he thought of affairs. "Shure," he said, "I don't know much about this war. All I know is that the English pay my eldest son four pounds a week for looking for mines, and the Germans pay me four pounds a week for laying 'em, but I don't know much about the war."

man, that I condemn. . . . I am afraid it is human nature for men to fail in such posts. . .

" In a word, the case is reducible to a short compass ; intermediate tenants work no improvements ; if non-resident they *cannot*, and if resident they *do not* ; but they oppress the occupiers, and render them as incapable as they are themselves unwilling. The Kingdom is an aggregate proof of these facts ; for if long leases at low rents, and profit, incomes given, would have improved it, Ireland had long ago been a garden."[1]

Young did not believe that the question of absentees' income was such a drain on Ireland as was generally supposed,[2] but he conceived the accompanying disadvantages to be serious. As Wakefield wrote in complete agreement with Young : " It is not the simple amount of the rental being remitted to another country, but the damp on all sorts of improvements and the total want of countenance and encouragement which the lower tenantry labour under. The landlord, at such a great distance, is out of the way of all complaints, or, which is the same thing, of examining into or remedying evils. . . All that is required of the agent is to be punctual in his remittances."[3]

It must not be imagined that Young ignored the importance of money. He frequently implores that more capital should be used to promote the agriculture of Ireland.[4] We quote this example in proof that he was a man who could see right into the thing which he had under examination, and was not blinded by the seeming importance of surface facts.

Young did not consider that emigration was a problem which was as serious as generally supposed. The Government, alarmed at the numbers of Irishmen going abroad, had forbidden emigration for five years. Young objected to this.[5] He thought on the whole that only the more worthless members of society left Ireland,[6] and may have realized that hatred of England did not necessarily mean

1. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. II, p. 27.
2. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 271.
3. *An Account of Ireland*, p. 279.
4. e.g. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. II, p. 17.
5. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 271.
6. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 164.

contempt for her money. In recent years, Michael Collins found the English Postal Service quite a comfortable one for himself and his friends, and certainly while in it he received more satisfactory reward than assassination. The people of Dublin tear down a Union Jack and the Governor-General must absent himself from any ceremony where his ears might be outraged by " God Save the King," but the difficulty of accepting English gold is apparently not insuperable.

Young probably felt that many emigrants were fortunate abroad. At all events he justly considered Government interference in personal affairs quite unwarranted.

As a champion of liberty it was natural that Arthur Young should object to any interference by England in matters of Irish commerce. " The policy of England," he writes, " which has always hitherto been hostile to every appearance of an Irish woollen manufacture has been founded upon the mean contractions of illiberal jealousy . . . A free Irish woollen trade would put our manufacturers on their mettle, and would do more for the woollen trade of England than any other measure whatever."[1]

It is not simply a question, therefore, of benefiting Ireland, because increased prosperity in that country must be for the good of England. As Young goes on to remark : " I shall, in a succeeding section, insert a table, which will shew that, in exact proportion to the wealth of Ireland, is the balance of trade in favour of England. The Kingdom is one of the greatest customers we have upon the globe, is it good policy to wish that our best customer may be poor ? "[2]

England, however, was not entirely to blame for the troubles in Irish manufactures. Much as Young favoured premiums in agricultural matters, he hated any money lent to manufactures. Of the premium on silk he demanded " Is there under the sun an instance of a manufacture made

1. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. II, pp. 217-218.
2. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 219. Hely Hutchinson, writing in 1779, made a similar point. Citing the figures relating to trade he remarks : " Those facts demonstrate that the poverty of Ireland ever has been a drain, and her riches an influx of wealth to England." *Commercial Restraints of Ireland*, p. 149. Ed. W. J. Carroll, 1882.

to flourish by such measures?" "If the manufacture is of such a sickly growth," he continues, "that it will not support the master as well as the man, it is not worth a country's notice."[1] Naturally a manufacture in its infancy might be benefited by government assistance, but was it worth the trouble?[2] Consider linen, argued Young: one million three hundred thousand pounds had been expended in its support. The same amount of money would have improved one hundred and thirty thousand acres "which would now be yielding £520,000 a year, or a fourth part of the whole amount of the linen manufacture of Ireland."[3] "If I had an estate in the South of Ireland," he concludes, "I would as soon introduce pestilence and famine as linen manufacture upon it, *carried on as it is at present in the North of that Kingdom.*"[4]

His hatred for linen led Young to propose rather fantastic measures, in direct contradiction of his usual cry for liberty.

"Fortunately the evil is not without a remedy; the landlords of the country might with no great difficulty effect the change. Let them steadily refuse to let an acre of land to any man that has a loom; the business would and ought to be gradual."[5]

There is no doubt that, with regard to the Irish tour, Young's greatest success was in connection with the Bounty on the Inland Carriage of Corn. It produced no personal reward, but Young, in 1797, gave a very adequate account of the result of his efforts.

"In the year 1779," he writes, "I explained fully, from very detailed calculations, the mischievous tendency of the bounty, so much to the satisfaction of the leading men in that Kingdom, that the very next ensuing sessions of Parliament (as appears by Sir Henry Cavendish's *State*

1. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. II, pp. 133, 134.
2. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 212.
3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 213.
4. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 216.
5. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 217.

of the Public Revenue) it was reduced to half, to the saving of £40,000 per annum to Ireland. At last the whole measure is repealed. It is not every individual that has the opportunity in so obscure a situation as myself, to make savings for the public. I should not mention it here, if it was not a matter of public record."[1]

Quite simply: the Irish Government paid a bounty on the inland carriage of corn from all parts of the Kingdom to the capital.[2] At a time when economic light was only just beginning to break, such an arrangement was not so astonishing as it would be to-day, but Young very quickly proved the fallacy in it. Would the people in England be willing to pay a bounty on the carriage of corn from Northumberland and Devonshire, so that in the capital this grain might have preference over that of Essex and Kent? Certainly not; the Londoners would never consider such an idea for a moment, because "it is the intention and effect of this bounty to turn every local advantage and natural supply topsy-turvy."[3]

A moment's thought and it becomes plain. "Ought you to turn some of the finest pastures in the world, and which in Ireland yielded twenty shillings an acre, into the most execrable tillage that is to be found on the face of the globe?"

We do not expect Young to put forward an argument unsustained by figures, and we are not disappointed, for he goes on to write as follows.

"The tables I inserted prove that Ireland has lost fifty-three thousand pounds a year for seven years in the produce of cows and bullocks, and one hundred and six thousand pounds in that of sheep; this is a prodigious loss, but it is not the whole; there is the loss of labour on the above fifty thousand stones of woollen yarn annually, which is a great drawback from the superior population supposed, perhaps falsely, to flow from tillage. When these circumstances are therefore well considered, the nation will not, I apprehend, be thought to have gained by having

1. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. XXIX, p. 157. Note quoted by Hutton.
2. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. II, p. 157.
3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 179.

converted her rich sheep walks, which yielded so amply in wool into so execrable a tillage as is universally introduced."[1]

"The little culture which is carried on," wrote Campbell, "is exercised by the very dregs of the people, upon an acre or two, in the worst manner, subservient only to their immediate support without any further prospect. Their very implements are of the most awkward and ineffectual forms."[2]

Compared with many of his schemes, Young's plans for dealing with the abuse of the bounty are economically sound and moderate in conception.

"A question naturally arises from the premises before us; should the bounty be repealed? Absurd as it is, I am free to declare I think not at once. Upon the credit of the measure great sums have been laid out in raising mills, most in situations which render them dependent on this forced trade for work. Great loss would accrue in this to individuals, and the public faith rather injured. . . . The policy therefore to be embraced is this: lower the present bounty to the simple expence of the carriage, and no more; and counteract it by raising the bounty on the carriage of corn coast-wise, until it rivalled and gradually put down the land carriage. . . . You must undo by art the mischief which art has done; and the commercial capital in Ireland is too small to bear any violence."[3]

Although the matter has not frequently been considered, there seems to be little doubt that the Inland

1. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 186.
We are able to give an example of Young's tabulating from p. 179. This table is founded on the Custom House Reports.

BOUNTY ON THE INLAND CARRIAGE OF CORN.

Dr.		*Cr.*	
To payment of public money on the average of the last seven years	£47,059	By decrease in the import of corn, etc.	£16,907
To decrease in the export of beef, butter, etc.	£53,136	By increase in the export of corn, etc.	£3,570
To decrease in export of wool and yarn	£106,049	By increase in export of pork, hogs, bread, etc.	£42,255
			£62,732
	£206,244	Balance against Bounty	£143,512
			£206,244

2. *Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland*, p. 152 (1777).
3. *Tour in Ireland*. Vol. II, pp. 186, 187, 188.

Bounty was responsible, in large measure, for the excellent condition of the majority of the roads. Young finds no explanation of the state they were in and remarks upon it with some surprise: the turnpike roads as a rule are exceptions, " they are as bad as the bye-roads are admirable. It is a common complaint that the tolls of the turnpikes are so many jobs, and the roads left in a state to disgrace the Kingdom."[1]

Other travellers speak of the Irish roads. Wakefield says that they are " justly celebrated for the excellence of their construction."[2] Luckombe describes them as universally good with an occasional exception around Dublin.[3] Pococke reports that in Donegal the roads are in splendid condition, thanks to individual effort.[4]

Both Wakefield and Luckombe remark that there are very few turnpikes.[5]

Young and Luckombe agreed that the small Irish cars preserved the surface. The former writes: " Notwithstanding the expence bestowed on the turnpikes in England, great numbers of them are in a most wretched state, which will continue while the legislature permits so many horses to be harnessed in one carriage."[6] And of the Irish car the latter says: " These sort of carriages preserve their roads, which are much the best I ever saw."[7]

The relative wear and tear in England and Ireland can hardly explain the difference, and we feel justified in insisting on the fact that it was probably due to the Bounty.

Before passing from the subject it may be remarked that to-day the main roads in the Free State are very fine indeed. They are not improved to encourage the carriage of corn but rather to attract the fat balloon tyres of the American tourist. The bye-roads of which Young spoke so highly are usually appalling. In Cork, Kerry and Sligo

1. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. II, p. 77.
2. *An Account of Ireland*, p. 656.
3. *A Tour through Ireland*, P. Luckombe, p. 17 (1780).
4. *A Tour in Ireland in* 1752: R. Pococke, Bishop of Meath, p. 61. Ed. G. T. Stokes (1891).
5. Works previously referred to, pp. 657 and 295 respectively.
6. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. II, p. 81.
7. *A Tour in Ireland*, p. 80.

fifteen miles an hour for a pneumatic tyre is practically courting disaster.

Young believed that the position in Ireland, as a whole, was satisfactory. Since 1748 her exports had trebled ; her general exports into Great Britain and her rental had doubled.[1]

There were several circumstances which favoured population. " First, There being no Poor Laws. Second, The habitations. Third, The generality of marriage. Fourth, Children not being burthensome. Fifth, Potatoes the food."[2]

" It is perfectly needless to speak of population after shewing that agriculture is improved, manufactures and commerce increased, and the general appearance of the Kingdom carrying the face of a rising prosperity, it follows inevitably from all this that the people must have increased."[3]

Of course, Ireland was distressed in some ways. In general there was a scarcity of money, and in order to gather more for the Government, Young recommends an increase in excises—his favourite remedy.[4] Funds had fallen 27 per cent. ; the year's purchase of land was reduced from 33 to 23 ; the prices of all products had fallen from 30 to 50 per cent., etc., etc. All greatly owing to the scarcity of money arising from the high interest paid for the public loans.[5]

Young favoured union with England ;[6] he was sure that it would make for the prosperity of both countries, and he particularly supported a liberal policy with regard to Ireland. " I shall not hesitate to declare, that the freedoms granted to Ireland, whenever they shall take

1. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. II, p. 258. It is as well perhaps to quote Hely Hutchinson on the same subject. " The present state of Ireland," he writes, " teems with every circumstance of national poverty. Whatever the land produces is greatly reduced in its value. Wool is fallen to one half its usual price, wheat one third, black cattle of all kinds in the same proportion, and hides in a much greater."—*Commercial Restraints of Ireland* (1779), p. 2, ed. 1882.
2. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. II, p. 119.
3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 258.
4. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 230.
5. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 270.
6. e.g. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 68 ; Vol. II, p. 252.

effect to the benefit of that Kingdom, will prove the wisest measures for enriching this, and that all apprehensions of ills arising from them are equally contrary to the dictates of experience and to the conclusions of the soundest theory."[1]

A liberal policy was not new in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, but the ideas of Young were by no means common. The most astonishing thing is to find any Englishman holding such views with regard to Ireland. Generally speaking, the oppression suffered by the Irish was due more to indifference than to animosity on the part of the English. This carelessness was exploited by various people for their own ends and the widespread conviction that all Irishmen were worthless prevented an outcry at the methods adopted against them.

Of all his writings before 1787, the *Tour in Ireland* is the one which shows the character of Arthur Young to the best advantage. When he began his tour he shared the common prejudices of his day and was quite willing to set down the popular report that the peasants were very lazy and great liars. Very soon, however, Young began to realize that a good deal of what he had heard was an exaggeration, and he at once became more kindly disposed towards the country people. That he persisted in this attitude and seems finally to have become fond of the peasant class does him great credit, because everywhere he was confronted by agricultural blunders which outraged his feelings, both as a farmer and as a man. It is not to be expected that he would allow such matters as horses drawing by the tail and the burning of dunghills to pass without scathing comment, but his residence at Mitchelstown gave him opportunity carefully to study the Irish peasant question.

The Nationalist party in Ireland blamed absentee landlords for the condition of affairs. Ultimately, of course, the ills of the peasants in many cases might be set at their doors, but Young speedily saw that the resident landlords, who were chiefly occupied in drinking and hunting, and also the middlemen, were very largely to blame. The

2. *Tour in Ireland*, Vol. II, p. 279.

Irish labourer worked badly and farmed badly, but no one helped him to improve at either, for which Young very justly censured the upper classes.

When it is remembered what a strong partisan he was of the landed interest in England, such an attitude shows that he really worked for the public good and was not so oppressively inclined towards the labouring classes as some of his writings cause him to appear.

Everyone to-day will be ready to agree with Young's teaching on Irish affairs, but to take the stand which he took in 1780 required considerable moral courage.

Once Arthur Young had begun to see the complexities of Ireland in the right perspective, the main abuses and remedies for them quickly appeared to him in their true proportion. Helped by his enormous capacity for hard work he soon revealed clearly the correct solution to problems which had baffled politicians for centuries.

His stand against the Anti-Catholic legislation and Irish trade restrictions are marked both by the humanity of his outlook and the clever way in which he made his case palatable to the opposition. In both these matters he proved to the Englishman that a liberal policy would ultimately benefit England. With the emancipation of the Roman Catholics the fears of a foreign invasion of Ireland would be enormously reduced, and once the sister country became enriched by trade, her purchases of English goods would more than counterbalance any temporary disadvantages which the English manufacturers might have suffered by the abolition of their monopolies.

It is impossible to pretend that Young's precepts, had they been practised, would have prevented all strife in Ireland, but we cannot help wishing sadly that more attention had been paid to his teaching. As Campbell remarked, almost at the same time : " There is, perhaps, no country dependent on the British Crown, which Englishmen know less of than Ireland ; and yet it may safely be affirmed, there is none which has a fairer and a stronger claim to their attention."[1]

1. *Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland.* Intro., p. 1 (1777).

CHAPTER IX.

Young's life continued—his extended husbandry—his poetry—his friends—his experiments—his correspondence with Capel Lofft, 1782—his relations with Russia, 1781-83—birth of Martha Anne Young, 1783—Young's spartan habits. The visit to England of the Comte de la Rochefoucauld—his introduction to Young—his opinions of the Young family. Mrs. Young. Arthur Young's tour with la Rochefoucauld. His introduction to the Duc de Liancourt. His first visit to France, 1784—opinions of French agriculture—comparison between French and English soldiers—conclusions with regard to France. *The Annals of Agriculture*—conception—objects—congratulations of George III. Young's life continued—his mother's death, 1785—his election to the Agricultural Society of Paris—his brother's death, 1786—experiments continued—he again lands in France, 1787. The *Annals* continued—crops—hay—tythes—plea for support in experiments—enclosure—corn trade—wool trade (consultations with William Pitt (the younger)—colonies—Young's versatility—taxation—slavery.

For a man like Arthur Young, the four years which immediately followed his Irish engagement at Mitchelstown were quiet ones.

On the home farm at Bradfield he "gradually extended his scale of husbandry"[1] until, as he says, "I had between three and four hundred acres in hand, most amply stocked, and conducted with such an expense of labour as enabled me to support the credit of my husbandry."[2]

In later years he blamed himself for not having restrained his ambition. "Had I strenuously and vigorously sunk into the more common farmer, myself and the family would certainly have lost some pleasure and some enjoyments; but we should have gained what are much better, tranquility and freedom from anxiety."[3]

In point of fact, he so far prospered as to win the Society of Arts' gold medal for potatoes,[4] and by 1780 he states: "I had made myself by practice no bad ploughman."[5]

1. *Biographical Memoir*, J. A. Paris, p. 292.
2. *Autobiography*, p. 84.
3. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. XV, p. 163.
4. *Biographical Memoir*, p. 292.
5. *Autobiography*, p. 89.

Young sums up the matter by remarking : " I lived . . for a few years in great retirement, and at a small expence ; and not the less easy because the pen was not in my hand."[1]

In a note the author found it necessary to qualify this statement, because he was engaged then, as for many years to come, on compiling information destined for publication in the *Elements of Agriculture*.

He was also writing poetry at the time. Dr. R. Valpy and W. Powell were both loud in their praises of his efforts. The former wrote : " I hope the unaccountable loss of your manuscript poems will not prevent your muse from further exertions . . .

' And trust the Muse, she saw them upward rise.'

Poetical images apart, you really should often leave the train of Ceres, and join the choir of the Muses."[2]

Three years later Valpy mentioned the matter again. " There runs a vein of fancy through your poetry," he writes, " which stamps a high character upon it, and would your genius but stoop to the minutiae of correctness would raise you to an exalted rank in that line."[3]

Powell is even more emphatic. " Let thy miserable grass lie and rot. What do I say to ' Cicilia ' ? . . . It is a wonderful performance."[4]

It is a pity that none of Young's work in this branch of literature has been preserved to us.*

Another literary pursuit is mentioned by Young himself.

" About this time,"[5] he says, " I had formed the intention of delivering lectures on agriculture and had prepared several. The original hint came from Mr. Wedderburn, who persuaded me to persevere in this plan ; but the lectures never took place."[6]

Doubtless they were later embodied in the *Annals of Agriculture*.

1. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. XV, p. 165.
2. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, ff. 198, 199.
3. Ibid. f. 282 and also *Autobiography*, p. 133.
4. Ibid. f. 221.
5. 1780-1781.
6. *Autobiography*, p. 97.

* See Appendix B.

Young's retirement was not exactly confinement to the country. Of the year 1780 we read: "My visit to London was, part of it, very agreeable, my whole intercourse with Arbuthnot entirely so. At Dr. Burney's, while it lasted, the same."[1]

By far the most important acquaintance of this period, however, was Dr. Priestley, the scientist. Arthur Young became intimate with him at the house of Lord Shelburne,[2] and the first letter he received from him is dated February 12th, 1782.[3] The subject of this correspondence was the experiments which Young was making—"experiments in expelling gaseous fluids from specimens of soils, the results of which were afterwards published in the *Annals of Agriculture*.[4]

In the year 1782 there was a scheme on foot whereby the gentry of various counties were to subscribe sums of money in order that the county might present ships to the Government. In Suffolk the idea was to build a seventy-four gun frigate, and Arthur Young lent his full support. Besides a contribution of £20, he wrote letters to the *Bury Post* on the subject, and this brought him into controversy with Capel Lofft, who strenuously opposed the plan. Their correspondence was afterwards published by the editor of the paper.

Government does not usually favour interference, however well meant, from private enterprise, and the Suffolk gentlemen were duly discouraged, so that finally the scheme came to nothing.

Dr. J. Young joined in the opposition. He wrote to his brother and mocked him for what he called "your silly Suffolk scheme."[5] The chief argument against the plan was that the Government would never be able to man the ships. Arthur Young refused to consider this point, and

1. *Autobiography*, p. 91.
2. *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Vol. IV, p. 7. Article by A. Pell.
3. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, f. 195.
4. *Autobiography*, p. 99. "In pursuit of these trials I gradually established and furnished a laboratory, sufficient for my own enquiries at about 150 l. expense." Ibid. p. 151.
5. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, f. 206: letter dated October 31st, 1782. Quoted *Autobiography*, p. 108.

in view of his subsequent suggestions for forming a horse militia of gentlemen[1]—which were carried out—his remarks on this occasion are worth quoting.

" Suppose," says he, " you have sixty ships unmanned; what will be the result? We shall see our debased, unconstitutional, vitiated, burthensome, useless militia of thirty or forty thousand men sent to sea ; we shall see our regiments of infantry turned into marines ; in a word we shall see in England the measures that have given our enemies the superiority."[2] He quotes in support the French subscriptions of 1763-4.

In 1781, Prince Potemkin sent three young Russians to study agriculture under Arthur Young.[3] Friendly relations continued for many years, and in 1783 " the Empress Catherine presented him through the hands of her ambassador with a magnificent gold snuff-box, together with two rich ermine cloaks designed as gifts to his wife and daughter."[4]

To Young's mind the chief event of this year, 1783, was the birth of his youngest daughter Martha, usually known as Bobbin, on May 5th. Her father was always devoted to her, and her premature death in 1796 preyed upon his mind so much that he never recovered his cheerfulness, but lapsed into a religious melancholy, which strongly marks all his subsequent writings.

" I passed this year at Bradfield," he writes, " and was much in the society of many neighbouring gentlemen. At this time I was a desperate bather, going into the water every morning at four o'clock each winter and with or without the obstruction of a thick coat of ice, having often to break it before I could bathe."[5]

His passion for experiment was not limited to agricultural matters, for he adds that on one occasion he rolled naked in the snow, after an ice bath, just to observe the effect it would have upon him. He found none, or at least none that was not beneficial.

1. *The Example of France—a Warning to Britain* (1793).
2. *An Enquiry into the Legality and Expediency of Increasing the Royal Navy by Subscriptions for Building County Ships*, pp. 72, 74.
3. *Autobiography*, p. 102.
4. *Biographical Memoir*, J. A. Paris, p. 293.
5. *Autobiography*, p. 110.

Young's social habits brought him notable acquaintances in 1784.

In this year the Comte de la Rochefoucauld and his brother came to England under the guardianship of their tutor, a Polish gentleman named Lazowski. The young Count wrote at great length to his father, the Duc de Liancourt. We learn from these writings that the first intention of the Frenchmen was to travel to Bristol in order to learn there how to speak English. The Comte, however, was assured by a Mr. Walpole that better English was spoken at Bury and Norwich. Accordingly he, his brother and Lazowski went to the former place, where they met Dr. Symonds, who knew a little French.[1] Ultimately they met Arthur Young, as was to be expected.

" M. Yong fut aussi une de nos premières connaissances, il a une grande réputation dans l'agriculture, il a beaucoup écrit sur cette partie, c'est un homme de beaucoup d'esprit et de connaissances et ce qui est encore plus agréable pour la société, il est très bon homme, il est toujours gai et ne se fache jamais ; il est le plus complaisant du monde pour expliquer tout ce qu'on lui demande et paraît toujours empressé à vous satisfaire. Malgré tout cela je n'aime pas à aller chez lui, premièrement parce qu'il fait on ne peut pas plus mauvaise chère, on ne peut pas plus malpropre et ensuite à cause de sa femme qui ressemble en tout à un diable. Elle est aussi hideuse, aussi noire, et a l'air tout aussi méchant. On dit qu'elle bat son mari et qu'il a la bonté de le souffrir, je n'en sais rien. Si l'un ou l'autre est une faute, il ne faut l'imputer à elle mais à lui. Elle tourmente toujours ses enfants et ses domestiques et est le plus souvent de mauvaise humeur pour les étrangers."[2]

It is interesting to have an unbiassed opinion of Young and his family, but we hope that Mrs. Young was not quite such a Gorgon as she is here represented.

We know that Arthur Young frequently quarrelled with his wife, and the cynic will hardly be surprised that her daughter-in-law should have disliked her, but at the same time it is rather a shock to find Jane Young writing

1. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,108, f. 25.
2. Ibid. p. 44 et seq.

as follows to her father-in-law. The letter is dated May 10th, 1811.

Referring to her father's new house, she says :

" Remember my dear Friend, that I do not *chooze* Mrs. Y. should know *any one* of these particulars, and that you will disoblige me extremely by suffering any part of my letter to be read before her, as I do not chooze she should know anything about my Father and Sister, at least not *particularly*. He would very much disapprove of it." . . . *Mrs. Y. is to know nothing at all*, pray tell me in answer if you burnt my letters and if you have kept all the intelligence from her. . . When I think of you I wish I had wings to fly to you, but when the remembrance of Mrs. Y. presents itself before me I shrink with horror at the idea of being again within the sound and reach of her tongue, I feel a most *decided aversion* against her and cannot overcome it. I have suffered too much from her behaviour to me ever to forget it."[1]

One feels after reading the foregoing remarks that perhaps Arthur Young was discreet when he limited his wife's epitaph to the mention that her great-grandfather introduced marling into Norfolk.

Accompanied by Arthur Young, la Rochefoucauld travelled through Suffolk and his remarks are worth repeating.

" L'on n'a pas d'idée de l'intelligence de tous les fermiers. J'en ai vu ceux dans notre petit voyage de Suffolk autour de Bury parler avec Mr. Yong sur les principes de leur art, faire des combinaisons, et conter pendant $\frac{3}{4}$ d'heure, une heure, ce qui excite toujours l'admiration de M. Yong quoiqu'il y soit bien accoutumé."[2]

In this same year, 1784, the Duc de Liancourt came himself to England and visited Dr. Symonds. Young was of course introduced to him and thus the way was prepared for his travels in France, which were to inspire such profound interest.

1. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,131, f. 85.

2. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS*, 35,108, p. 318. Young mentions this journey as follows: " July 21st, 1784. The Count de la Rochefoucauld, his brother and M. Lowzofski, being desirous of seeing the objects most deserving attention in Suffolk, I was happy in an opportunity of attending them." Vide *A Five Days' Tour to Woodbridge*, etc., *A. of A.*, Vol. II, p. 105 et seq.

Young himself was already feeling the attraction of the country across the Channel. " This year," he writes, " I took a journey with my son for farming intelligence into Essex, Kent, etc., and being at Dover we went over to Calais just to enable us to say that we had been in France."[1]

Once there, however, he took note of everything he saw around him with his habitual enthusiasm.

With regard to farming, he took the usual Anglo-Saxon point of view, and stated that an English farmer would make better use of the opportunities offered.

" A man will hire a farm of five hundred acres of good land, all corn, worth five hundred louis d'ors a year, and not have more than eight hundred louis in his pocket, which is not one fourth of what they ought to have. They all seemed contented ; but I saw nothing in any instance of that vivacity and mirth of which I have heard and read so much. I suppose it is reserved for Sundays and holidays. Their food may be wholesome but I do not apprehend it is very hearty for supporting hard labour. . . . Every soldier looked as if he would not be wanting in any exertions, yet their pay is not a fourth of the reward of other labours.

" The worst things I saw were 40,000 troops well dressed, clean, and spruce and seemed so much superior to the other poor people, that one might collect from it, if other circumstances were wanting, that the government of this country is arbitrary."[2]

Young adds a note here.

" I cannot mention these troops without observing that on my return to Dover, I was shocked at the dirty, mean, slovenly appearance of some of our soldiers ; the most complete contrast I remember to have seen ; the French common soldiers are clean, notwithstanding their uniform is white, and new but once in three years, and their gross pay is but twopence half-penny a day. . ."

Young felt that prices were high.

" The general dearness of the place indicates prosperity. The conclusion, however, is not entirely just because some

1. *Autobiography*, p. 124. July 5th, vide *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. II, p. 80.
2. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. II, pp. 88, 89, 90.

part of the dearness is owing to this part of France being within reach of London. There is hardly an article in the markets of Calais or Boulogne that is not sent thither. . . it is an instance of the benefit resulting to one country from the wealth of another. . . If a free trade took place between the two Kingdoms, both would receive great improvements ; and that enlarged and liberal principle, alone worth a thousand improvements would succeed, that give to each an interest in the prosperity of the other."[1]

The Eden Treaty of 1786 must have brought Young much satisfaction, and even Gladstone could have found no fault with the sentiments here expressed.

It has been indicated that the account of this trip to France appeared in the *Annals of Agriculture*. The publication of this journal began in 1784 and not 1783, as is stated in the Autobiography.[2] Copies appeared continuously until the year 1808, which saw the completion of forty-five volumes ; a supplementary one being published in 1815.

" My fermenting mind produced the plan of these *Annals*, which were first published in January, 1784. They seemed the signal for fresh bustle and anxiety, new currents, and new gusts of these winds that had blown me about for so long. Printing first too many ; and then too few ; and reprinting again and again still fewer, at a dead expence, and no return ; misunderstandings with the printer and publisher ; the work moved to another ; he breaking, 350 l. in my debt. . . . new faces, new anxieties ; such has been the history of a work greatly praised, but not bought ; and the editor receiving commendation and compliments from all parts of Europe with 1,500 l. worth of the numbers lying dead in his warehouse. But still I have not lost by it, and therefore it has been continued."[3]

From Young's statement it would appear that he first thought of the *Annals* at this time. This, however, can not be the case, because a suggestion on the same lines was made to him by Thomas Bayley in 1772.

1. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. II, p. 91.
2. p. 111.
3. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. XV, p. 166.

" It is much to be lamented," wrote that gentleman, " that our Society of Arts, etc., do not regularly publish the results of their praemiums, etc., in a proper manner, printed in the newspapers they are seen by few and soon forgotten."[1]

As Young says himself in his preface : " The idea of a periodical publication as a general channel for information relative to Agriculture is at least a century old." He points out that in the reign of James II, Houghton published a paper twice a week. This periodical appeared until the reign of Anne.[2]

The original intention of the editor was to limit the *Annals* to practical papers only. The publishers objected on the grounds that there would be a scarcity of material, and Young afterwards admitted that they were right.[3]

At the end of the first volume[4] he pointed out that he had been able neither to reduce the price of publication nor to add plates, as he had hoped to do, because the loss on the first five numbers was £11 18s. 3d. " I shall reap," he adds, " the only reward expected, the consciousness of having done the little that was in my power to serve the public."[5]

He did, nevertheless, receive some acknowledgement of these services.

" The King took in two sets of the work, . . . and in the interview which I had with His Majesty upon the terrace of Windsor, the first word the King said to me was : ' Mr. Young, I consider myself as more obliged to you than to any other man in my dominions.' And the Queen told me that they never travelled without my *Annals* in the carriage."[6]

1. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, p. 138.

2. Other forerunners of the *Annals* mentioned by Young are the *Museum Rusticum Et Re Rustica*, and Hunter's four volumes of *Georgical Essays*.

3. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. XV, p. 170.

4. p. 263.

5. We are pleased to find that at the end of eighteen months Young was able to show a profit of £9 2s. 4d. He was then selling five hundred copies. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. III, p. 251.

6. *Autobiography*, p. 112.

George III subsequently contributed to the periodical himself, writing under the name of his shepherd, Ralph Robinson.[1]

Young said that his own writings covered between one quarter and one third of all the material printed, and stated that they "may be reckoned among my most valuable productions."[2] His contributions will be considered later because it is unnecessary to treat them in exact chronological order since, prior to his travels in France, no event of very great importance tended to change his outlook.

Briefly, the *Annals* carried on the good work done by the English tours. "Ce qui donne encore plus de prix aux *Annales* c'est qu'elles ont rendu populaires des notions d'agronomie familières à quelques théoriciens et perdues pour le grand nombre."[3]

In 1785 Arthur Young's mother died. By an arrangement with his elder brother, which we have already noticed, Bradfield Hall became his property. He accordingly moved there with his wife and family, and the visit which he paid to Bakewell constitutes his most important travel during the year.

Of this time he says: "I find by memoranda that I was busied in the imagination of new fish-ponds."[4] A substantial addition to the *Elements of Agriculture* was the ultimate result of this consideration.[5]

On the twenty-eighth of December Young received a letter from Broussonnet, Secretary of the Royal Agricultural Society of Paris, telling him that he had been elected a corresponding member.[6] This formed yet another link between himself and France. The revival of the Paris Society had taken place only that year. It was due largely

1. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. III, pp. 58, 332, "On Mr. Ducket's mode of cultivation."

2. *Autobiography*, p. 111.

3. *Biographie Universelle*, p. 275.

4. *Autobiography*, p. 133.

5. Vide *Elements of Agriculture*, Vol. VIII. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 34,862.

6. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, f. 311.

That Young gave something in return we learn from another letter of Broussonnet, dated 2 fév., 1787. "Je vous réitère tous mes remerciements pour les turnep rooted cabbages qui ont fort bien réussi ici . . ." *MSS.* 35,126, f. 362.

to the drought that summer, and was not destined to be of long duration.[1]

It seems, moreover, that Young was becoming increasingly anxious to visit France. Symonds wrote to him from Paris in October, " I have dined twice with Necker, whom I know you would rather see than most of the Academiciens or the grands seigneurs."[2]

Symonds' letters from France are all interesting, but the correspondence is too lengthy to be considered here in detail.

Another minor honour was Young's election to the Odiham Agricultural Society.[3]

In the spring of 1786 his brother, Dr. John Young, of Eton College, was killed in a hunting accident. This unfortunate event affected Arthur in two ways.

" So sudden and dreadful an accident affected me deeply ; there is something in such deaths that strikes every feeling of the soul."[4]

From the more materialistic point of view John Young's death upset various plans for his nephew's preferment. The boy was then at Eton, destined for the Church, and Arthur Young was relying on his brother to procure him a good living. Inability to secure one eventually led to Arthur junior emigrating to the Crimea.

We know, moreover, that John was in the habit of speaking with George III.[5]

In 1786 Arthur Young made a number of experiments in pneumatics, always in close correspondence with Priestley. His fame was recognized in Italy by his election to the Patriotic Society of Milan, the Geographical Society of Florence and the Agricultural Society of Illmo,[6] but we are still most interested in the letters he received from the Duc de Liancourt and Lazowski.[7] The latter says : " I am very sorry that you would or could not be a co-traveller

1. Vide *La Vie Econ. et les Classes Sociales en France au XVIIIme Siecle.* H. Sée, p. 17 (1924).
2. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, f. 304.
3. Ibid. f. 287.
4. *Autobiography*, p. 142.
5. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, f. 289.
6. Ibid. f. 337 and also *Autobiography*, p. 143.
7. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, ff. 336, 351.

with me," and presses him to come to France. In the following year his efforts were to be successful.

Young's enthusiasm for travel had in fact increased now that the *Annals* were firmly established. He wanted fresh fields to see, if not to conquer, and it is interesting to notice how he delved among his old notes to find materials and information to publish.

In Volume VIII of the *Annals*[1] he inserted notes on a Tour in Wales, which begin with the remark : " October 23rd, 1776, landed at Milford Haven from Ireland." He adds in a note : " I travelled the same country again in December, 1778, and taking fresh minutes, have drawn up this account from both."

We are therefore not surprised that he should have wished to accept Lazowski's next invitation, which was written to him from Paris on April 2nd, 1787. Having satisfied himself that the expenses would not be too heavy for his pocket, he set out with the utmost satisfaction and landed in France on May 15th, thus beginning the most famous of all his travels. We leave the description of these to abler pens than ours and, in order to complete the survey of Young's work up to this date, turn our attention to the matter contained in the first eight volumes of the *Annals*.

With regard to crops there is but little change in his teaching from that contained in the English tours. His enthusiasm and scorn are as great as ever. When we read : " I would as soon turn a mad dog into my kennel as summer-fallow turnip land,"[2] we do not feel that the writer is weakening in his convictions. In just the same way we find a whole-hearted advocacy of carrots,[3] sainfoin[4] and clover ;[5] the same disapproval of the culture of hops[6] and the same horror of stripped trees.[7]

1. p. 31 et seq.
2. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. II, p. 374. cf. Vol. VI, p. 150 " Barley in Essex. Suffolk and Norfolk is miserable. But what hurt me much more was the quantity of fallows."
3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 147 and Vol. IV, p. 410.
4. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 360.
5. Ibid. p. 49.
6. Ibid. p. 77.
7. Ibid. p. 57.

Of hay he mentions one new and important fact. " Letting grass stand too long," he writes, " is the almost universal error."[1] The reason is, of course, that if grass is left too long the seed falls from it and the hay loses both in value and weight.

Tythes are disliked as much as before. In the first volume we find ; " Tythes are so powerful an obstacle to all spirited husbandry that it can never arise under the extreme burthen of their being taken in kind."[2]

Plain commonsense is as much to the fore as ever when he deplores an attempt made by Mrs. Ann Wins, of Gravesend, to introduce silkworms into England.[3]

It is to the gentlemen whom he turns for support. He wants facts and figures. " What a shame to cultivators," he cries, " that the value even of turnips is at present very little better ascertained than it was a hundred years ago ! "[4] Elsewhere he says in a note : " The drill and horse-hoeing culture of beans in Kent is known to have been there above a century ; probably before Tull was born, and it has not to this day travelled out of the county."[5] This ignorance is due very largely to apathy in high quarters. There are five hundred peers in Great Britain and " I simply state it as a misfortune to the community that only *two* of the nobility have condescended to lay before the public any particulars of their agriculture."[6] " If every gentleman that occupies any land would but lay it down as a rule to form and register one experiment every year, of such a nature as is best adapted to his soil and circumstances, it would form through the Kingdom a most noble and accumulating mass of knowledge, which being properly combined and arranged in some such work as this, would do more to fix the true principles of the art, than all the books that have been written from Cato to Duhamel."[7]

1. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. III, p. 479.
2. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 74.
3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 330.
4. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 422. cf. *Political Essays concerning the Present State of the British Empire*, p. 109 : " . . the attention of gentlemen to agriculture is of great national importance."
5. Ibid. Vol. V, p. 38.
6. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 300. The two noblemen referred to are the Duke of Northumberland and Lord Petre.
7. Ibid. Vol. V, pp. 40, 41.

It was not until late in life that Arthur Young ceased to be a strong partisan of enclosure. In 1774 he had taken up a definite stand in the matter. Speaking of the statesman he says : " He should lay it down as a maxim, that without enclosures there can be no good husbandry."[1] There is no weakening in the next decade. In twenty years Young estimates the gain in revenue at thirty million pounds,[2] and when speaking of a French edict in consequence of scarcity he says : " The cure of the evil might be contained in two words : *inclose your open fields, and then have grasses and roots instead of fallows.* Nothing short of this can prevent the return of similar distresses."[3]

The failure to obtain the division of common lands was part of the Physiocrats' unrealized programme.[4] Calonne suggests that this was due to the fact that except in the Soissonnais the land was put under the plough, and the result was a diminution in the number of beasts. Butter and milk were, in many cases, the sole luxuries of the peasants.[5]

M. Henri Sée speaks thus of England.

" Les enclosures eurent donc certainement pour effet d'accroître le nombre des pauvres. La preuve c'est l'accroissement de la taxe des pauvres."[6]

It was precisely the harsh effect which it had on the poor which ultimately caused Young to give up his championship of enclosure.

Young was always in favour of publishing as many facts as possible about the corn trade, because he felt that if the true state of affairs were known his dream of an untrammelled export trade would be realized.

Political Arithmetic contained an article on the advantages of publishing the prices of corn as just established by law. In this he remarked : " . . I cannot but esteem this act as the most valuable in corn affairs (next to the general prohibitions of the import of foreign corn, and the bounty

1. *Political Arithmetic*, Vol. I, p. 198.
2. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. I, p. 71.
3. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 70.
4. Vide *Le Mouvement Physiocratique.* G. Weulersse, Vol. II, p. 189.
5. *La Vie Agricole sous l'ancien Régime.* A. de Calonne, p. 139.
6. *Esquisse d'une Histoire du Régime Agraire en Europe au XVIIIme et XIXme Siècles*, p. 99.

act) that ever passed the legislature of this kingdom, and, as such, I most heartily wish, that instead of its repeal I may see its perpetuity."[1]

The *Annals* gave Young an opportunity for making his facts and opinions more widely known. Volume II contained the first of the average price of corn tables, which continued as long as the journal appeared.[2]

Failing complete liberty, Young turned his attention to bettering the existing state of affairs, a necessity because " the register of our export and import will show that our consumption is so much greater than our growth."[3] There is an article on the means of ascertaining the price of corn for the regulation of export and import which appeared in 1785[4]. The system proposed is very complicated and unworkable, but the good intentions of the writer were recognized, and in the following year we find Young in consultation with a committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Hawkhurst, with regard to this same matter. It was on this occasion that Young pointed out that England did not then produce enough for her own consumption, because of the increase in her population.[5] His consultation seems to have clarified his ideas to some extent, because a little later he wrote: " The circumstance, therefore, which influences these prices, must be sought for, not in seasons whose effects would necessarily be local and partial, but in some more general cause that operates equally over the whole Kingdom ; this cause we find in the wealth and circulation of the people."[6]

With the increase of manufactures the wool trade came more and more into prominence. There had always been restrictions on export, particularly from the counties of Sussex and Kent. These were evaded, as nearly all duties and prohibitions of the period, so much so that in 1772 Arthur Young estimated that foreigners gained

1. *Political Arithmetic*, Vol. I, p. 336.
2. p. 279.
3. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. I, p. 70.
4. Ibid. Vol. III, pp. 456, 468.
5. Vide *Notes on Corn*, by Arthur Young : *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 38,347, f. 121-2.
6. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. IV. *Memoirs of Corn for the Last Fourteen Years*, p. 397.

twenty-four million pounds annually by means of wool smuggled from Great Britain, where the unmanufactured wool still amounted in value to over five and a quarter million pounds.[1]

Whether Young's figures were correct is a matter open to comment, but it remains that the manufacturing interest, yearly growing in importance, realized that if export of wool were prohibited, its own concerns would benefit enormously. The manufacturers consequently set about petitioning the Government. In 1784 they succeeded in obtaining an Act restraining the export of rabbits' wool, and ultimately in 1788 an Act was passed prohibiting the export of wool or sheep under very severe penalties.

It is not to be expected that any champion of the farming interest such as Young should sit by quietly while the manufacturers were promoting their schemes. He states his thesis in 1784. " Wool," he says, " is cheap in England and dear in France, because the exportation is prohibited . . I . . have no doubt but the woolen fabrics of England would preserve their superiority, if the trade in wool was free."[2] All his subsequent efforts were directed to this end.

At once the gloves were taken off in the controversy. " As soon as the manufacturers had the monopoly of wool," wrote Young, " they gave a low price and the effect was just what might have been foreseen, wool sunk to less than half its price, and while almost all the long wool in Europe sells at 1/3 a pound, ours, which is much better, brings not half that price."[3] Four years later he asserted the same thing,[4] maintaining that " nothing but monopoly can hurt a great fabric in this Kingdom."[5]

Young's campaign was not limited to the *Annals*. In 1788 he published three pamphlets, two called *The Question of Wool truly Stated*, and one entitled *A Speech on the Wool Bill that Might Have Been Spoken in the House of Commons*.

His opinions with regard to free trade were slightly moderated, and we find him calling for the export of wool

1. Vide *Political Essays concerning the Present State of the British Empire*, pp. 176, 184.
2. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. I, p. 372.
3. Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 12, 13.
4. Ibid. Vol. IX, p. 243.
5. Ibid. p. 247.

under a proper duty—the 12 per cent. advocated by Necker.[1] Although himself wishful to prevent smuggling, he held that this object had never been attained by severe restrictions,[2] and openly accused the framers of the Bill of having no motive but the wish to impede transport and lower the price.[3]

It was unlikely that his writings would pass unrecognized. In 1786 he described the opposition as follows.

" It seldom happens that so obscure an individual as I am can have so flattering a tribute paid to his opinions as to see a numerous and potent body of manufacturers—grown rich by the flourishing situation of their fabrics, and overbearing from the consequences of their wealth, assemble merely for the purpose of his refutation :—sending expresses with all the anxiety of apprehension—planning operations, as if to oppose a host of foes—and voting with the most unreserved malignity subscriptions for abusive advertisements, as if scurrility were the only argument adapted to their cause or their ideas."[4]

On the other hand we find Young being drawn into friendly relations with Sir Joseph Banks[5] and Thomas Day, the author of *Sandford and Merton*. The latter wrote to him : " It will be no slight consolation amid your regret for public evils to reflect that you have strenuously discharged your duties, and defended, even to the last extremity, your appointed post."[6]

In the early spring of 1788 Arthur Young was deputed by the wool-growers of Suffolk to support the petition against the Bill. On April 22nd of that year he was examined in the House of Commons. Of his efforts Young says : " The opposition certainly would have been successful if Mr. Pitt had not found what so many ministers have experienced before—that the trading interest at large is a hundred times more active than the landed interest ; for very few counties exerted themselves on this occasion."[7]

1. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. VI, p. 523.
2. *Question of Wool Truly Stated*, p. 22.
3. Ibid. p. 27.
4. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. VII, p. 74.
5. Vide *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, f. 367.
6. *A Letter to Arthur Young* on the Bill now depending in Parliament to prevent the Export of Wool, p. 36.
7. *Autobiography*, p. 166.

In May the supporters of the Bill caused Arthur Young to be burnt in effigy at Bury,[1] which shows that he was feared, but the Bill passed the House of Commons on May 15th. Young's opposition did not die down. He pointed out that on one occasion only forty members were present when the debate opened,[2] and soundly rated the Chancellor of the Exchequer for saying that he had not had sufficient leisure to examine the facts of the case. "Does the Right Honorable Gentleman know," he asks, "that the only true encouragement to produce any commodity, is regularity of price?"[3]

"The general prosperity of this Kingdom," he concludes, "is owing primarily and principally to one *great* predominant cause—*To Liberty*. . . . Not your contemptible prohibitions—not the pitiful jealousies of the shop—nor the monopolies of the counter. We have flourished not *by*, but *in spite of* these."[4]

In conclusion he remarks of the Wool Bill: "The whole is unfounded. It has been brought in under a cloud of error and deception, and ought to be postponed for ever."[5]

Even in France he could not forget the matter, for we find this note.

"The Wool Bill passed, and in July 100 rams from three to nine guineas each were landed from thence safe in France at the expence of a provincial assembly. See the folly of such laws."[6]

Perhaps we may leave the Duke of Fife to sum up the matter.

"I wish everybody acted for the public good on the same patriotic principles that you do. The Wool Bill is at least better than the one that was first intended."[7]

It would be idle to deny that Young's writings assisted in the ultimate repeal of this Act.

1. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, ff. 418 and 420: Letters from Sir J. Banks and B. H. Latrobe.
2. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. X, p. 236.
3. *A Speech . . . that might have been spoken*, p. 19.
4. Ibid. p. 28.
5. Ibid. p. 29.
6. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, f. 430.
7. Ibid. f. 424.

In addition to the questions of corn and wool, Arthur Young was again in prominence with regard to Irish commerce. As we have seen from his *Tour in Ireland*, he was always in favour of a free trade and, after soundly rating the manufacturers in the first volume of the *Annals*,[1] he continues later to point out that they are actually stupid enough to be fighting their own interests, since the output of English and Scottish manufactures increased after the Acts introduced by Lord North in 1778.[2] " The *dear and wealthy* country will, in almost every competition, get the better of the *cheap and poor* one : this is his summing up. It is interesting that Burke used exactly the same argument with reference to the Eden Treaty of 1786.[3]

Young's writings did not pass unnoticed. He was called to consult with Pitt,[4] and was asked to submit " as accurate an account as possible of the probable quantity of articles subject to excise duties which are consumed by the labouring manufacturers. . ."[5] How Young acquitted himself of the task we may judge by a letter from George Rose written within a week of the above.

" Your calculations appear to be very just and exact. . . . I agree with you perfectly that if we do not produce evidence to the conviction of the whole Kingdom that all they have heard of the danger of transplanting the cotton manufacture to Ireland is downright nonsense we shall deserve anything you can say."[6]

Unfortunately, Pitt's Free Trade Bill was rejected by both the English and Irish Parliaments.

Naturally the idea of the Eden Treaty appealed to Young, and he urged his opinions on a reluctant Cabinet. He approved of Necker's proposed duties[7] and clamoured for free trade—especially in printed books—adding a demand for French wines rather than Portugese.[8]

1. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. I, p. 446.
2. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 278.
3. Vide *Précis Historique et Economique du Traité de Commerce*, 1786. His. de Butenval, p. 89 (1869).
4. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, f. 279.
5. Ibid. f. 284.
6. Ibid. f. 286.
7. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. III, p. 524.
8. Ibid. Vol. IV, p. 16.

We feel that his sentiments corresponded with those of Vergennes.[1]

Young's reasoning with regard to the British Colonies was not so sound. He was, of course, annoyed at the amount of trouble caused by the American States[2] and, even as Turgot, his remarks are reminiscent of the fox and the grapes.

Speaking of his *Political Essays concerning the British Empire*, Young wrote: "I calculated that while (1770) the sugar colonies added above three millions a year to the wealth of Britain, the rice colonies nearly a million, and the tobacco ones almost as much, that those more to the north, so far from adding anything to our wealth *as colonies*, were trading, fishing, farming countries, that rivalled us in many branches of our industry and had actually deprived us of no inconsiderable share of the wealth we reaped by means of the others." He deplored the fact that Nova Scotia and Canada had been preserved and hoped for their revolt. Of the loss of India he said: "That day must come—it *ought* to come."[3]

We are naturally reminded of Turgot's remark concerning the situation should all the American Colonies revolt. "C'est alors que la decouverte de cette partie du monde nous deviendra véritablement utile."[4]

Having proved to his own satisfaction the uselessness and precarious situation of the Colonies, Arthur Young naturally stated that the salvation of the nation lay in the preservation and good conduct of home affairs—particularly agriculture.[5] The Physiocrats before him had urged that the Indies should be left to their own devices. "Colonise the waste lands of France," was their device, "there you

1. Vergennes "était demeuré convaincu que c'était dans l'application des principes de la liberté commerciale qu'il fallait chercher le développement de la richesse et de la prosperité de la France." *Des Transactions Commerciales entre la France et la Grande Bretagne.* His. de Butenval, p. 9 (1872).

2. In Young's opinion, the causes of the century's wars were as follows: "To protect American smugglers in the Spanish West Indies (1739). To secure a market in the desarts of America (1755). And to retain commercial sovereignty (1775) that never truly flourished till it was lost." *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. II, p.307.

3. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. I, pp. 13, 15, 17.

4. *Œuvres*, ed. G. Schelle, Vol. III, p. 422.

5. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol I, p. 27 et seq.

are sure of your return and need have no fear of sea, pirate or foreigner."[1]

Young believed that Ireland would revolt successfully "a few years hence" if she were not treated fairly commercially,[2] he advocated the relinquishing of the East and West Indies,[3] together with Gibraltar.[4] In fact his general opinion may be accurately gauged by his statement when speaking of America that: "This *loss*, therefore, of an empire has proved a real *gain*."[5]

In all the reasoning and arguments we see obstinacy and shortsightedness. The parallel with Turgot is long since ended, for it was the latter who so ably defined the best in subsequent British Colonial policy: "Sage et heureuse sera la nation qui, la première, saura plier sa politique aux circonstances nouvelles, qui consentira à ne voir dans ses colonies que des provinces alliées et non plus sujettes de la métropole!"[6]

Perhaps Young, had he lived to-day, would have found his hero "par excellence" in Mr. Snowden, who seems to be repeating three parts of Young's creed: I believe in Free Trade, I believe in the abolition of safeguarding British manufactures, and I believe that colonial preferences are derogatory to the interests of the Mother Country."

It is impossible to deal with all the subjects which Young treated in the *Annals*. His versatility is more amazing than ever, and he is painstaking in everything he does. Wherever possible he collects figures to support his statements and the information which he gave must in many instances have been invaluable. In the second volume, for example, he writes: "In order that this publication may be as extensively useful as it is in my power to make it, I shall insert the price of the precious metals regularly."[7] In Volume VIII is an account of the net produce of all the taxes in the United Kingdom for the years 1785-6-7.[8]

1. Vide *Le Mouvement Physiocratique*: G. Weulersse, Vol. I, p. 389.
2. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. II, p. 309.
3. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 404.
4. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 309.
5. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 404.
6. *Œuvres*, ed. G. Schelle, Vol. V, p. 398.
7. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. II, p. 411.
8. Ibid. Vol. VIII, p. 414.

Volume V contains an article on the resources of the Kingdom in which, among other things, he objects to the haphazard way of bundling together such articles as cambrics and sugars for the purposes of a tax,[1] deplores the relative unproductiveness of Scotland from the financial point of view,[2] and calls for the enclosure of the Royal Forests.[3]

In passing, we may note that in this matter of the Royal Forests, Young did not tend to popularize himself with George III. The Wool Bill was another thing on which they disagreed, and it is scarcely likely that the King was anxious to follow Young's advice and give up any more of his colonies. George seems to have offered nothing more than verbal reward to the man to whom he was so greatly obliged.

Taxation produced more friction between Arthur Young and the legislature. He objected to the window tax, the brick and tile tax, and also to the Earl of Dundonald's scheme for transferring the tax on salt to hearths.

Young was a man of sound sense and it is not surprising that he should in any case have objected to the window tax. When, however, it was introduced as a commutation for the duty on tea, his outcries were bound to be loud because of his hatred for that brew.

The reasons given against the measure are sound. Firstly, he says: "The number of a man's windows is no rule whatever to judge of his ability to pay a tax,"[4] and secondly, "A little consideration will suffice to convince any one, that the great error of our taxes, and of none more than that upon windows, is to fall heavy on the middle classes of the country; that is upon classes already almost annihilated by the expenses of living."[5]

The objection to the brick and tile tax was that it discouraged both population and agriculture by making building difficult.[6]

1. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. V, p. 396.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 302.
5. Ibid. p. 306.
6. Ibid. p. 314.

The Earl of Dundonald's scheme was greeted by the following words :

" As I think this is most ruinous to the whole landed interest, and beneficial only to certain classes of the commercial, I must necessarily condemn it *in toto*."[1]

Young goes on to point out that the idea was evolved from a general one of Sir Matthew Decker who wished to abolish all customs and excises and, instead, to lay the whole amount upon houses. The great drawback being, as Young indicates, that " no minister in this country will ever dare to lay any taxes on the poor except those on consumption "[2] with the result that the lower classes, by Decker's Scheme, would pay nothing at all.

The rapid increase of population and the industrial revolution were, in a great measure, to give the upper classes control of the nation's affairs for another hundred years, but the burdens feared by Young have fallen heavily on the middle classes of Europe since 1914.

It is necessary in passing to draw attention to an article on the abolition of slavery in the West Indies because, apart from the humanitarian outlook of Young, it is a strong link in the chain of friendship which was afterwards to bind him closely to William Wilberforce.[3]

Space forces a conclusion of this glance through the first ten volumes of the *Annals*. It must not be supposed, however, that agriculture was neglected. On the contrary, in Volumes IX and X we find that of the thirteen articles written by the editor, nine[4] deal with purely agricultural matters, as opposed to four[5] written on more general topics. Agriculture is alpha and omega to Young ; nearly all his digressions are in pursuit of some matter connected with it.

1. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. III, p. 400. 2. Ibid. p. 404.
3. " Nothing should be thought of at present but prohibiting the further import of slaves."—*Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. IX, p. 92.
4. Vol. IX, p. 129, On Preparations for Barley.
p. 235, On the Profit of a Farm.
p. 473, On a Bounty on Growing Flax and Hemp.
p. 661, Experiments on Manure for Potatoes.
Vol. X, p. 186, A Day at Mr. Ducket's.
p. 216, Note concerning Succory.
p. 231, Experiment on the Smut in Wheat.
p. 325, West Indian Agriculture.
p. 475, Minutes concerning the Parish of Barnham.
5. Vol. IX, p. 88, On the Abolition of Slavery in the West Indies.
p. 244, On the Monopoly of Rabbit Wool.
Vol. X, p. 235, On the Police of Wool.
p. 402, On the Necessity of County Associations.

CHAPTER X.

Objects of this work. British farming of 1929—comparison with that of 1770. Young's views on farming—reasons for his early non-success.

Young's agricultural work :—The starting point. The improvements he suggested—the abolition of fallows—the introduction of fallow crops (comparison with twentieth century husbandry)—manures—the use of oxen for draught. The size of farms. Drilling. Criticisms of Young. The matter of stockbreeding.

Young's economic work :—His reasoning and conclusions. Criticisms. Roads. Enclosures. Young's social opinions—his dislike of the lower classes—workhouses. Capital. Free Trade. Population. Young's preference for large farms. Money—paper currency.

The completeness of Young's reasoning. His indefatigability. Lack of recognition of his work—Reasons. Young's domestic life—differences with his wife—his affections—his mode of living. His character as shown by his correspondence. Arthur Young junior—the Reverend. Young's religious opinions—his good works. His friends. Conclusion.

There are two theses put forward in this little book. The first is that Arthur Young's life up to the time of his travels in France still contains matters of interest in spite of previous treatment at the hands of capable writers, and the second is that the value of Arthur Young's work, both agricultural and economic, has not hitherto been satisfactorily recognized.

At the time of Young's English tours the agriculture of Great Britain was as good as, if not better than that of any other European country. To-day this is very far from being the case. Everywhere one hears tales of agricultural depression, and there is no doubt that farming is in a bad way.

Occasionally the Press begins a campaign in favour of the farmers. In general the Government is unwilling or unable to help, and it is not easy to find any real advantages gained by the Press for its protégés. The British farmer is in fact handicapped in two ways. In the first place he is credited with an ability to grumble at any and every condition, and secondly, the public feels that if he did not profit considerably during the Great War, then he was a fool.

With regard to the War, the farmer's case is very simple. The Government, frightened by the prospect of famine, urged him to put every available acre under the plough, but with the termination of the "U" boat campaign, interest in his activities languished. The farmer found profits vanishing in face of foreign competition but his labourers' wages remained high. Hastily land was brought back to pasture, the women who had tilled it found other occupations or ceased to have any, the conscientious objectors returned gleefully from their potatoes to the bosom of their families, and if, here and there, a real countryman was left without a job, he passed unnoticed into the ranks of the unemployed. In this way it seemed that the land interest was quickly adapting itself to new conditions.

Unfortunately the new conditions multiplied with great rapidity. English meat was dear and many people were poor. Frozen meat and chilled meat became more and more plentiful with the increase of shipping, both in number and in speed. The farmer's profits dwindled until he found it difficult to get what he called a " fair price " either for grain, roots, live-stock or dairy produce. The Universities began to hum with agricultural activity. Cambridge built large new buildings. Oxford experimented.

The knowledge of artificial manures became widespread and many valuable suggestions were made to the farmers ; new methods were evolved. Occasionally one of these would fail, and thereafter the farmer regarded all discoveries and innovations with the gravest suspicion.

Since we are largely confined to the daily papers for knowledge of the farmers' case, it behoves us to walk delicately, but it is possible to evolve a general idea of the actual situation and of the complaints.

The grading systems adopted for dairy produce by various continental countries made it imperative for large hotels and institutions to buy food which they knew to be sound, rather than support home industries by the purchase of butter, which was conceivably rancid when sold, or a dozen eggs of varying and possibly advanced age.

Consequently English dairy-farming suffered a set-back.

Germany, by a bounty on export of practically eleven shillings a quarter, is at present[1] underselling the British farmer's grain in his own country. Australia gives a bounty on the export of butter.

The imports of fruit and vegetables are even more enormous than necessary.

Opposed to these gloomy facts we find that sheep farming is flourishing; that, owing to an embargo on importation, swine husbandry has the advantage of foreign competition; and that, on the whole, there is always a satisfactory demand for the best English beef.

The State is largely to blame for the agricultural depression, but the farmer too has his faults.

Is not this a parallel to the conditions prevalent when Arthur Young made his English tours? Nearly everywhere at that time the farmers were making the most elementary mistakes, but the Government had done nothing for them and was busy handicapping them by removing bounties and forbidding export, even as to-day it is occupied in wholesale duty-free import and stringent dairy regulations.

Because of economic changes it is of course absurd to compare the position of agriculture in 1770 with that of 1930—one might as well argue that Arthur Young wrought no improvements because English agriculture to-day is bad. This rapid survey has been inserted to show that farming is dependent generally on a combination between the Government and the farmer, for which Young was always working with considerable, though not complete effect.

By arguments based on statistics, Young drew the attention of the politicians to the importance of agriculture, not as a general principle but as an economic science of many ramifications. It is possible to assert that in this he was only following in the footsteps of the Physiocrats, Turgot and Sir James Steuart, but enough has already been written to prove that Young's application of the agricultural doctrine was much more sound than that of his predecessors. This was largely due to the fact that he was

1. December, 1929.

himself professionally a farmer and secondarily a politician, whereas with the others this position was exactly reversed.

Frequently it has been said that Young was an unsuccessful farmer. This is true, but at the same time it is a statement which should be very much qualified. Financially he did not succeed, but we are not obliged to accept gold as the only standard. He failed at Sampford Hall through lack of capital, but this failure, as many others, was due largely to the amount of money which he spent on experiments. We have no reason to suppose that if he had been content to accept the practices of agriculture as he found them he would not have succeeded. Fortunately it was not in his nature to accept from others any fact whose value he had not himself proved. His experiments cost him much money—on one occasion at least his wife was publicly loud in her lamentations because of this—many of the experiments were unsatisfactory and the results of others misleading, but it was Young's determination to farm in nothing but the best possible manner, which is really at the root of his early work and travels.

This phase soon passed. Almost at once the national importance of agricultural improvement became Young's spur to high endeavour, and he differs from the other advocates of farming because he wished this improvement to begin on the land itself and not in the sessions of Parliaments or Privy Councils. Young, in fact, does not quarrel with the legislature until it bars the progress of improvement, whereas in general the Physiocrats and Sir James Steuart imply that the first move should be made by the Government.

The improvements suggested to the farmers by Young were many ; they have already been discussed in detail, but when they are brought together in the compass of one paragraph they make an imposing array.

First comes Young's important work in helping to abolish fallows by spreading the knowledge of the Norfolk system, which includes, of course, turnip and bean husbandry. Next we have his powerful support of manure against the tillage system brought forward by Tull. Then follow his efforts to root out two agricultural ills—the smut

in wheat and the rot in sheep. He strongly supported stock-breeders like Robert Bakewell and encouraged the improvements they were introducing into oxen and sheep. His enquiries into the use and value of potatoes, carrots and cabbages convinced him of their importance, and he was never satisfied until that importance was recognized. In addition we have his valuable research into the relative value of grassland, his careful calculations to discover the best quantity of seed to be sown per acre, his intelligent suggestions with regard to draining, and the various plans and sketches which he executed of good and new farm buildings or implements.

Above all other men, he was in favour of bringing waste lands into cultivation.[1]

We have seen something of the manner in which he endeavoured to accomplish these improvements. That he did so much to foster agriculture is due to the fact that he was gifted with boundless enthusiasm and perseverance. Time upon time, and year after year he kept on repeating his advice, supported by statistics, until it took effect.

In the first volume of the *Annals* he wrote : " One of the greatest objects of British husbandry is to introduce fallow crops instead of fallow on all sorts of soils. Turnips and clover are very well understood in this light, but it is not so with potatoes and carrots consumed by cattle."[2]

Three years later he describes himself as being hurt at the quantity of fallows in Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk,[3] even in 1793 fallows were common every fourth year in the first-named county,[4] but from the fact that turnips and clover were well understood in 1784 we may judge that much had been done to better agriculture since the publication of the English tours.

In dealing with potatoes it must be remembered that it was Young who discovered the practice of planting only the " eyes," and who made this method of cultivation well known.

1. Vide *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Vol. IV, p. 6. Article on Arthur Young, by A. Pell.
2. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. I, p. 128.
3. Ibid. Vol. VI, p. 150.
4. Ibid. Vol. X, p. 500.

Another fallow crop of vast importance in Young's opinion was that of beans. "There is not, perhaps," he writes "in the whole range of British husbandry a point of more importance than the entire substitution of beans instead of the common fallow preparation for wheat."[1]

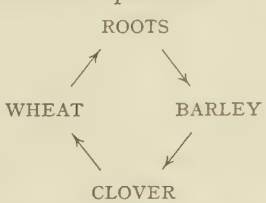
A Frenchman writing in 1803 said: "Les jachères sont proscrits dans toute l'Angleterre même sur les terrains les plus médiocres."[2] Doubtless this is by way of being an exaggeration, but it shows that the practice was practically extinct.

In his last work Young again points out the advantages of not fallowing: the resultant increase of manure, produce and fertility.[3]

It is surprising to find one man so sound in his advice as Arthur Young. As a rule he was not the first to make a discovery, but in the end he supported what was good.

He gives many courses of crops in his works because he always tried to find a suitable rotation for all sorts of soils. All his suggestions, however, are founded on the Norfolk system. From the following quotation from a modern work we may judge the correctness of his teaching.

"The most typical rotation is the *Norfolk or four-course system* . . . The general arrangement . . . is such that about half the land is under white straw crops, whilst the other half is carrying green crops and clover, and the rotation may be thus represented :—



"This rotation is suitable for many classes of soil, for, where one of the crops named would not be likely to prosper in a particular case, another one of the same general character could be substituted which would do so.

1. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. I, p. 134.
2. *Le Bon Sens d'un Manufacturier: An X*, p. 17.
3. *Elements of Agriculture*, Vol. V, p. 506.

" There are many rotations extending over from four to eight years, but it will be found on examining a classified list of such rotations that they are to a great extent founded on this four-course system and that the chief differences are in the extension of the time during which the clover or " seeds " crops are allowed to stand, and in the introduction of a wheat crop or of some other exhausting crop, after roots before barley is sown."[1]

Mention has been made of Young's strong advocacy of manures. The importance of his teaching on this subject cannot be too greatly emphasized. From his writings we have seen how little this matter was understood when he began to write, whereas Dr. Fream only summed up Young's teaching when he wrote : " The system of manuring by means of stock is the backbone of farming."[2]

Young's research into other forms of manuring led him to publish important facts. The value of bones, for example, was accidentally discovered in 1772.[3] Twelve years later Young stated this manure to be the best[4]—doubtless because of its lasting properties.

In matters directly agricultural it may be asserted that Young was only wrong in one particular : he preferred draught work to be done by oxen instead of horses. This is only excusable among poor farmers because of the slowness of cattle, and since Young preferred large and wealthy farms his preference for oxen is really a contradiction.

Young has sometimes found disfavour because he generally advocated large farms. In England events justified his choice, but he was not always an enemy of the small proprietor. He was probably converted by what he saw in France. In 1803 he published the following.

" No restrictions whatever should be thrown on the size of farms, because they ought to be of all sizes in order to find employment for all sorts of capital. There ought to be farms of 20 or 30 acres, that labourers may have the encouragement to save and be industrious."[5]

1. *Elements of Agriculture*, W. Fream, p. 309 (1918).
2. *Elements of Agriculture*, W. Fream, p. 105.
3. Vide *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*, R. E. Prothero, p. 80.
4. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. III, p. 73.
5. *Georgical Essays* (A. Hunter), Vol. IV, p. 568. Article " On the Size of Farms," by Arthur Young.

It may be felt that Young was not sufficiently quick to realize the great importance of drilling. No one, however, could have sensibly approved of the wide intervals at first used. In the *Elements* Young was generous in his support of the drill husbandry and he adds : " It is not without the deepest regret that I reflect on some of these works, in which I hazarded what I was pleased to call experiments by which I deceived both myself and others. . . heinous sins against God and man."[1]

One critic has stated that Arthur Young cannot be said to have founded any new system of agriculture, but is important principally because he collected and made generally known improvements which had been initiated by other people.[2] Donaldson, moreover, has written that Young " projected nothing new or original, nor devised any different scheme of agriculture on any point."[3]

Neither statement is just. In contradiction it may be reasonably maintained that Young was the first seriously to introduce science into farming. He has himself written : " To imagine that we are ever to see agriculture rest on a scientific basis, regulated by just and accurately drawn principles, without the chemical qualities of soils and manures being well understood, is a childish and ignorant supposition."[4] And it must not be forgotten in this connection that besides the *dactylus glomeratus* or cock's foot, Young introduced the *cynosurus cristatus* or dog's tail grass.[5]

The present yield of grain per acre is largely due to the addition of science to the correct rotation of crops. In the thirteenth century the average yield of wheat was thirteen bushels an acre ; by 1770 it was twenty-three ; in 1880 it had risen to twenty-eight and it is now approximately thirty.[6]

1. *Elements of Agriculture*, Vol. V, p. 809.
2. Vide *The English Cyclopedia*, Vol. V (1887). Article on Arthur Young by C. Knight, p. 881.
3. *Modern Agriculture*, James Donaldson, p. 56.
4. *A. of A.*, Vol. VII, p. 247. (Article on thirty-five experiments on expelling air from soils).
5. *Biographical Memoir*, J. A. Paris, p. 299.
6. Vide *A Short History of British Agriculture*, J. Orr, pp. 30, 92.

Prothero stated that the agricultural progress of the nineteenth century could be summed up in the application of science and capital to the cultivation of the soil,[1] and it was in these two particulars that Young was truly a pioneer.

Priestley put the matter very well when he wrote to Young in January, 1783: "You alone have certainly done more to promote agriculture and especially to render it reputable in this country, than all that have gone before you."[2]

It is as well to remember in this connection that by 1801 agriculture had more than kept pace with the growing population, so much so that the dependence of the nation on foreign supplies was very rapidly diminishing.[3]

Young was, of course, fortunate in his contemporaries Bakewell, Coke, Marshall and others, but they were more fortunate in him—at least the two former—for William Marshall by no means saw eye to eye with Young. Marshall's work is very meritorious. His *Norfolk Husbandry* for example, is much better arranged than the majority of Young's work, but it is not so convincing because he gives no references, and, singularly enough, the lack of tables gives a feeling of dissatisfaction—a suspicion that the author was not in a position to prove everything he said.

It is possible to assert with conviction that stock breeding in England would not have made such rapid improvement if Young had not published far and wide the successes of men like Bakewell. Much space is given in the *Annals* to the matter of sheep and cattle. George III made a slight gesture of gratitude when he gave Young a Spanish merino ram, for in this, as in all agriculture, Young was an experimentor as well as a preceptor.

To-day, a Somersetshire farmer may refuse to buy a steer or a cow because the animal's horns are not satisfactory to his eye, and in this it is possible to trace a survival of the ideas which preferred long horns, long legs and big bones to sound flesh. The writings of Young must

1. *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*, p. 87.
2. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, f. 225.
3. Vide *History of Europe*, A. Alison, Vol. VII, p. 369.

therefore be considered as most valuable, since they prevented the improvements of the new school of stock-breeders from remaining entirely localised.

Having begun literally at the root of agricultural improvements, it is not surprising to find Young's interests branching in two directions. On one hand he became occupied with the position of agriculture in the new economic world, and on the other he was led, through a consideration of prices and wages, to the relations between the legislator and the cultivator. In the latter he found a mutual indifference most annoying to a man of his temperament. He saw in this indifference a huge impediment to agricultural improvement, and he attacked his new difficulties with the same vigour which he had displayed in the matter of fallows.

Various writers have stated that, with regard to economics, Young was an English physiocrat, or a disciple of Sir James Steuart, or a strong supporter, if not follower of Adam Smith. It has been seen that Arthur Young was not familiar with the teaching of the Physiocrats until about the year 1773—that is to say, not until he had already taken up his own position. It is natural that his principles should conform in some measure with those of the French economists, but we have seen that he disagreed with them in most important particulars.

The doctrine of Sir James Steuart found more favour, but his position was only that of a minor saint in Young's calendar.

With Adam Smith, Young had naturally much in common, but he by no means approved of the Scot's work. "I hardly know an abler work than Dr. Smith's," he writes, "or one (it is no contradiction) that is fuller of more pernicious errors ; he never touches on any branch of rural œconomy, but to start positions that arise from mis-stated facts, or that lead to false conclusions."[1]

Able writers have announced that Young arrived at economic truths by "flashes of instinct." This does not

1. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. I, p. 380 (note).

agree with Young's character. He was never satisfied with regard to the suitability of an agricultural innovation until he had proved its value by careful experiment. It was just the same with science. Even in his earliest work, *The Theatre of the Present War in North America*, there is a careful bibliography. Why should Young be supposed to have been careless as to his economic opinions?

If the matter is given a little thought it will quickly become apparent that Young reached his conclusions by very simple reasoning. He was convinced of two things: firstly, that British Colonial Empire was doomed to speedy extinction; secondly, that the population of the British Isles was rapidly increasing. Since it was impossible to expect import of food from the unstable colonies, it became quite obvious to Young that the only means to preserve national prosperity was to increase home agriculture: how else could the growing demands for food be met? Therefore the existence of Great Britain depended on the improvement of farming, which brought agriculture quite automatically into the position of prime economic importance.

Young soon saw that in order to carry out his plans for improvement the help of the legislature was essential. If communications were so bad as to prevent the adequate transport of food, it would not profit the nation when farm produce was at its acme of perfection. From this fear sprang Young's revilings of turnpikes and other roads.

"In 1772 Arthur Young . . . seems to say that he knew only four good roads, but that the one to London and Dover was not one of them. He only praised the piece from Salisbury to Romsey, the Great North Road from London to Barnet, the road to Chelmsford, and a small piece of new road in Wales; all the rest it would, he says, be mere prostitution of the language to call turn-pike; in turn he calls them 'vile, execrable, execrably vile.'"[1]

Young objected not only to the roads in themselves but also to the manner in which they were maintained.

1. *Our Roads, from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day*. F. J. Bennett, p. 355 (1905).

" The small real value of personal service we experience in the last remnant of it in England : the six days' duty in the highways. It is done so miserably, and so much time is necessarily lost by going to a distance, that nobody can doubt but any new roads or considerable work might be made by a private man or an appointed surveyor, with teams on purpose, for one-tenth of the sum which it would cost if performed by parish work. Not having substituted a tax universally instead of these services in a country so enlightened as this, is a very great reflection on our police."[1]

This last statement is definitely right, even if Young did exaggerate the bad condition of the roads.

Of turnpikes we read : " De Foe's estimate of the great improvements which they had already brought about by his time contradicts the popular view that nothing much had been done to improve the roads until the industrial revolution was in full swing . . . Something was being done, even in Defoe's day ; and the state of the roads was improving and not, as later grumblers were disposed to allege, already getting worse."[2]

Defoe himself was optimistic. " This custom prevailing," he writes, " 'tis more than probable that our posterity may see the roads all over England restored in their time to such perfection, that travelling and carriage of goods will be much more easy both to man and horse, than ever it was since the Romans lost this island."[3]

Approximately four hundred and fifty-two Acts for making and repairing roads were passed between 1762 and 1774. In 1784 Palmer's mail coaches started, but of the year 1792 we read : " Roads, it will now be seen, had at this time become, except in a very few instances, almost as bad as they could be, and as commerce was most flourishing, it became imperative that the roads should be taken in hand on a drastic and scientific plan."[4]

1. *Political Arithmetic*, Vol. I, p. 192. In this connection it is interesting to notice the remark of a French writer: " L'institution des devoirs de six jours, telle qu'elle est établie en Angleterre, serait certainement le meilleur expédient que l'on puisse adopter pour l'entretien des chemins vecinaux."—*Considérations . . . de la France et de l'Angleterre.* De Modenard d'après Berbier, p. 107 (1802).

2. *Tour through the Whole of Great Britain* (Daniel Defoe), ed. G. D. H. Cole ; Intro., pp. xviii, xix (1927).

3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 527.

4. *Our Roads*, etc., F. J. Bennett, pp. 355, 356.

Telford and McAdam undertook this reconstruction. We find the following written in 1825.

" The turnpike roads, it is true, have recently been materially improved by the application of the system of Mr. McAdam and by the skill and science of Mr. Telford and other able engineers. The improvement has extended to many of the parish roads ; but of these parish roads a very large proportion is in such a state as is attended with much inconvenience and even danger to all who travel on them, and with a formidable expence in wear and tear both of horses and carriages, whether used for agriculture or for other purposes."[1]

Arthur Young, therefore, may be very largely justified in his remarks, but it is as well to remember in this connection that his daughter Elizabeth, writing to him from Sidmouth in Devon in the year 1794,[2] describes the mail as reaching her from London in twenty-four hours—not very much slower than at the present day. Roads must have been very fair to permit this speed, and we may be excused if we qualify Mr. Bennett's remarks with regard to the year 1792. If roads had not improved after the publication of the English tours, Young would certainly have had a great deal more to say about the matter.

The help of the Government was required in other directions. Young pointed out the difficulties and delays caused by the lack of standard weights and measures. He began in addition a campaign against tythes. Unfortunately even the Tythe Act of 1925 has not satisfactorily settled the question.

On July 20th, 1794, George Washington wrote to Young : " Commons—Tythes—Tenantry (of which we feel nothing in this country) are in the list of the impediments, I perceive, to perfection in English farming."[3]

In his youth Arthur Young was an ardent supporter of enclosure. This was the natural outcome of his wish for general agricultural improvement by means of large capitals and large farms. His enthusiasm was entirely logical,

1. *Highways Improved.* A Letter to an M.P. on the expediency of appointing County or District Surveyors of Highways (Anon). Pub. London, 1825, p. 2.
2. Vide *Autobiography*, p. 253.
3. Correspondence with G. Washington, Vol. II, p. 23A.

because the small and poor farmers were those who suffered as a result of the enclosure of the commons. Young realized this. " The fact is, that by nineteen enclosure bills in twenty they (the poor) are injured, in some grossly injured"[1] " Against individual losses," however, " must be set the national gain. Without the enclosure of commons England could never have fed her growing population, or gained the first place in the race for industrial supremacy."[2]

It will have been noticed that Young had little patience with the lower classes. Next to tythe, the poor rate was the farmer's heaviest fiscal burden. This must have increased Young's dislike. As has been seen, he suggested an additional number of Houses of Industry to alleviate the tax. Although open to question, there is little doubt that workhouses were the right remedy. Unfortunately, mismanagement brought them into disrepute. As Young remarked later : " The management of workhouses is, in too many cases, a horrible abuse."[3] Continuing, he suggests, in contradiction to his old theories, that relief should be given to the poor to enable them to keep away from the workhouses.

In later life Young was, in fact, kindly disposed to the poor. He regretted the ill effects of enclosures and workhouses ; he even modified what he had written in favour of large farms. Here are four of his corollaries :

(1) " That nothing tends so strongly to give the poor industrious and frugal habits as the prospect of acquiring or the hope of preserving land."

(2) " That wherever they are possessed of it, they are either kept entirely from the parish or supported at a very small comparative expense."

(3) " That parishes are at as great an expence to keep them in a state of distress as would fix them in a comfortable situation."

1. *Enquiry into the Propriety of Applying Waste Lands to the Better Maintenance of the Poor*, p. 42. See also E. P. Hunt : *Arthur Young on Industry and Economics*, p. 103, and J. Orr : *Outline of British Agriculture*, p. 68.
2. *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*, R. E. Prothero, p. 74.
3. *A. of A.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 386. See also E. P. Hunt : *Arthur Young on Industry and Economics*, p. 28.

(4) " That enclosures, as hitherto conducted, have no such effect."[1]

Young, therefore, is not retracting any of his teaching. He is merely regretting some unfortunate results which are really side issues. He does not deplore workhouses but he objects to the management of them ; he does not want a return to the old forms of poor relief, but wishes that waste land should be applied for their benefit ; his belief in the greater value of large farms is unshaken, but he sees the necessity for small holdings as well.

In view of Young's whole-hearted endeavours to improve agriculture it is quite natural that he should have wished to attract capital from manufactures to the land and also that he ran counter to industrial opinion in the matter of protection. Young believed in free trade because it encouraged the farmer by assuring him a market abroad when the home one was glutted, particularly with grain and wool, which are the chief exports. He defended the bounty on the export of corn to the best of his ability. Adam Smith contradicted him flatly, but even to-day both Germany and Australia seem to consider bounties to be good policy.

The merits of the free trade doctrine are still matters for discussion, but no one to-day questions Young's teaching that it is crass stupidity to forbid the export of produce and commodities.

Young was not the sole holder of free trade opinions, any more than he was the only man to affirm that the population of the British Isles was increasing, but in both these matters his writings are meritorious and his influence in obtaining the census of 1801 was very considerable.

It may seem that agriculture and population were two widely differing subjects. This, however, was not the case, for Sir James Steuart, among other economists, maintained that increase of population was directly dependent on agriculture,[2] that is to say, on the abundance or cheapness of provisions. Young saw danger in such teaching, because

1. *A. of A.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 25.

2. *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Œconomy*, Vol. I, p. 82 : " Agriculture is without all doubt the foundation of multiplication, which must ever be in proportion to it ; that is, to the earth's productions, as has been said."

it encouraged the Government to take steps in order to cheapen agricultural productions, which was a state of affairs calculated to prejudice farming interests. It therefore became necessary for Young to produce some theory which would satisfactorily counterbalance the weight of Steuart's opinion.

" The loss of a man," wrote Young, " is a much better thing for population than the possession of a man without the means of industrious support."[1] He was, moreover, able to bring into the lists in his favour such men as Sir William Temple, Sir Josiah Child, Sir William Petty, Dr. Franklin, De Witte and Locke, who all agreed that when provisions were very cheap it was not to the advantage of the country.[2]

It was not sufficient simply to destroy a rival doctrine. Young set up a new theory in its stead.

" What is the great encouragement of population? Ease of acquiring income . . . What is the great obstacle to population? Difficulty of acquiring income."[3] " Men," he added, " were never wanting where money, flowing from industry, was plentiful; but if money is wanting, your population is of no consequence."[4] " Employment and industry create population in a modern society, not cheapness of provisions."[5]

It has already been noticed how Young argued that a rather high price of provisions was consistent with industrial improvement, and in this connection it is possible to quote the example furnished to-day by the United States of America. Young's theory was not without sound basis.

The question of population was bound up with that of the size of farms. As M. Henri Sée has remarked of the *Travels in France*: " On voit donc qu' Arthur Young annonce assez directement la théorie de Malthus. Cependant ses idées n'ont pas un caractère aussi générale; c'est la préoccupation des progrès agricoles qui tient la première place dans son esprit. Ces progrès selon lui ne peuvent

1. *Political Arithmetic*, Vol. II, p. 57.
2. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. III, p. 276 (note).
3. *Political Arithmetic*, Vol. I, p. 66.
4. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 269.
5. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. I, p. 32.

être realisés que par les grandes exploitations. Il se trouve donc en opposition complète avec les democrates, qui ne voient de bonheur pour le peuple que dans la multiplication du nombre des propriétaires."[1]

These big farms were more satisfactory because, generally speaking, their owners had more capital. Young never wavered from this point. At the end of his life he still held that " the bad husbandry seen in many parts of this Island, has arisen very much from a deficiency of capital."[2]

Having held this opinion, Young was naturally led to a consideration of capital itself : that is to say of money, and another field of economics was opened up.

He was definitely an anti-bullionist ;[3] this was to be expected in a man of good sense, and he seems to be of the same opinion as Mr. Winston Churchill when he writes : " As to the ill consequences of sending away our gold and silver, considered merely in itself, they are perhaps trivial."[4]

All this is perfectly sane, but Young became a most ardent supporter of paper currency. " I have long been convinced," he wrote at the end of his life, " that the success of the National Agriculture, and even the subsistence of the people, have materially depended on the Paper Circulation of the Kingdom."[5] " As long as agriculture, manufactures and commerce flourish," he adds a little later, " it matters little whether the currency be gold or paper."[6]

It has been seen that Young favoured high prices and he realized that " all prices must necessarily rise in proportion to the depreciation of money."[7] All this naturally led him into the mistake of treating the question of money value with too scanty attention. National credit became subservient to national agriculture and the inevitable repercussions were overlooked. The crisis in agricultural

1. *Revue d'Economie Politique*, nov-déc., 1925, p. 1284 : " Arthur Young et la population de la France."
2. *Elements of Agriculture*, Vol. I, p. 283.
3. e.g. *Political Essays concerning the Present State of the British Empire*, p. 439.
4. Ibid. p. 533.
5. *An Inquiry into the Progressive Value of Money* (1812), p. vi.
6. Ibid. p. 132.
7. Ibid. p. 112.

affairs at the beginning of the eighteenth century cannot be traced to one source but " one great cause of the general depression was the paper money, upon which had been built up extravagant ideas of national wealth."[1]

Young, however, did not pin his faith to paper money ; this is quite clear from the remarks just quoted. Agriculture, for him, is always the best investment. It might be argued that commerce was a better one, but he has proved to his own satisfaction the disadvantages of commerce as opposed to agriculture.

Firstly, a long and expensive credit are necessary to the former. Secondly, to raise a trade or manufacture to useful proportions is a matter of great difficulty. Thirdly, small capitals are insignificant in business, and lastly, an apprenticeship in a counting house may lead a lad into a life of debauchery.[2] Agriculture is found admirable in the very places where trade and commerce are wanting. The returns to the investor may not always be large. " By investing money in the possession of land he cannot expect to make above 3 or $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ; perhaps not so much : but by renting he may make 10 or 12 and in some cases more."[3] At all events, as a farmer a man will lead a healthy life and he cannot benefit his country more than by favouring her agricultural prosperity.

And so the circle is complete. It is easy to trace Young's reasoning and the development of his interests from the moment when he began farming. Each particular pursuit dovetails neatly into another, although it would be difficult to find any man who was more versatile in his interests. Perhaps the most astonishing thing about this life of hard work is that the majority of the labours were undertaken without the prospect of any reward other than that of benefiting mankind in general and the English nation in particular. " Whether or not we are prepared to date a new era from 1789, we must at any rate confess that Young was unconsciously one of those whose work has

1. *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming*, R. E. Prothero, p. 92.
2. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. XXI, p. 272.
3. *Elements of Agriculture*, Vol. I, p. 234.

made it reasonable to maintain that with the close of the last century a new era actually did dawn upon mankind."[1]

We may be pardoned for wondering if a fellowship of the Royal Society, the Secretaryship to the Board of Agriculture and a salary of £400 a year were really an adequate reward for a life devoted to national, if not universal welfare. Unfortunately Young's period was incessantly filled with wars and rumours of wars, and governments have always favoured monuments to the vanquishers of men rather than to those who conquered anything so dull as fallows. Fortunately, of late years, the writings of Miss Betham Edwards and Mr. Arthur Hutton, together with the researches of Miss Constantia Maxwell and Mr. Henri Sée have done much to establish Arthur Young's true position. It is hoped that this small work will bring him some little additional credit which he so richly deserves.

A review of Arthur Young's private life is not such a pleasant pastime as might be hoped. There is little doubt that his wife was by no means a lovable character—the Comte de la Rochefoucauld makes this fact clear—and it is not surprising that Young found little married happiness. One entry in the Autobiography, for example, reads as follows: "April, 1799—In London. I am alone, therefore at peace."[2] This does not indicate that the presence of his children was much solace to him. At the first glance he does not seem to have loved any of them particularly, with the exception of his youngest daughter Martha Anne. Perhaps his nature was too energetic to find much pleasure in anything approaching domesticity. Even when he obtained leave of absence from the Board of Agriculture he would spend it in reviewing a part of Hampshire,[3] and with the depression which followed Martha's death he endeavoured to dull his sorrows by religion and an even harder mode of life than he had led previously. Of the year 1801 he wrote: "I have made an experiment in

1. Introduction to Young's *Tour in Ireland*, A. Hutton, p. xvi.
2. p. 320.
3. Vide *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol XXIII, p. 355.

living here not unimportant. I drink no wine or beer . . . I care not what I eat. . . I rise at 4 a.m., walk up to my neck in the garden pond, pray, and then read till breakfast ; read, walk and farm till dinner, and so on till it is dark and not a moment hangs heavily on my hands."[1]

" Feb. 12th, Sunday. The ground white with snow, and the wind cutting. I am up every morning at 4 a.m. and walk to the garden pond, habits will do anything. I do not mind it at all, and I sometimes stand in the wind till dry ; it is, however, sharp work."[2]

In the summer of 1805 Young was rising at 3 a.m., and even in his days of blindness he usually got up between 4 and 5.[3]

None of these indicates that he was devoted to the society of his family. He says that he did not mind what he ate and drank, and la Rochefoucauld tells us that his table was exceedingly poorly supplied, but from Young's correspondence we are not led to suppose that food and drink held no attractions for him. The time of depression which began in 1796 is not here referred to, but rather the time when he was in the prime of life. His letters home from France usually mention the fare he encountered, and one of the few cheerful letters he wrote came from Venice,[4] where his creature comforts received particular attention.

These letters are nearly all addressed to his daughter Mary and do not contain many loving messages to his wife. Mary seems to have endeavoured to heal the breach between her father and mother. Arthur Young professed to be anxious for a reconciliation.

" You certainly know it," he wrote, " I coincide entirely with your Mother in hoping that no differences may arise any more. They certainly will not from me."[5] This passage was written in 1787. Two years later he wrote the following letter to Mary which scarcely bears out his former statement. It is not conciliatory in tone.

1. *Autobiography*, p. 354.
2. Ibid. p. 356.
3. Ibid. pp. 416, 447.
4. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, f. 490, dated 30th October, 1789.
5. Ibid. p. 398.

" I found here your Mother's two letters of which I can hardly make head or tail ; according to custom they are so cross written and so cram'd and topsy turvy that like the oracles of old they may be made to speak whatever is in the reader's head, alley croaker or Paradise Lost are all one. . . This is of a piece with writing under the wax, bobbin[1] is—and then wax and torn : alive or dead, well or ill I know not. Such letters instead of the correspondence I requested with you are a mockery : How can a person of common sense and not insane think of retailing on paper the minutiae of a servant's conduct down even to his saying *I don't care* ; etc., etc., and this is a man in Italy who can make no change till he is at home whether good, bad or execrable : Poaching and gaps in two words would have expressed all the letters, and these things are on my farm bad enough of all conscience."[2]

On an absence of such long duration one would expect Arthur Young to have delegated some little authority to his wife, even if she were bad tempered with the servants.

One of the most noticeable things in the correspondence is the manner in which he constantly complains of lack of news and, when letters do reach him from home, he acknowledges them without a word of thanks or apology for his unjust accusations of neglect.[3]

Young was certainly hyper-sensitive of being ignored. This fear of neglect was not limited to his family ; it extended to his friends. Lazowski wrote from Paris in August, 1788 : " I understand nothing about your complaints on my silence. I wrote to you as exactly the circumstances (*sic*) of Paris would and could admit, that is to say, I have sent a letter every week."[4]

On the whole it is fair to estimate that Young received far more letters than he wrote, and on at least one occasion Dr. Symonds complained that Young's side of their correspondence was sadly deficient.[5]

1. i.e. Bobbin—his youngest daughter, Martha.
2. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, f. 502, dated from Turin December 15th, 1789.
3. Vide Ibid. 35,126, ff. 386, 390, 394, 462, 466, 482, 486, 492, 500 : letters dated June 19th, July 7th, August 7th, 1787 ; August 27th, September 10th, 1788 ; September 26th, October 15th, November 18th, December 28th, 1789.
4. Ibid. 35,126, f. 474.
5. Ibid. 35,127, f. 36 : " I sent to the post both here (Berwick) and at Durham to seek a letter from you, but in vain. Were you offended at my badinage ? "

It would not be just to judge Young as a husband and father by modern standards, but even for the late eighteenth century he does not seem to have been a very kindly man. He once remarked of his wife : " Lamentable it was that no enemy ever did me the mischief that I received from the wife of my bosom by the grossest falsehoods and the blackest malignity."[1] It is not therefore surprising that in his correspondence with his daughter mention of Mrs. Young is usually confined to the postscript. One of his letters to his son does not open very amiably. " I received your letter," he writes, " which I suppose would not have been written if you had not been ordered to do it by your Mother, for my repeated desire to hear from you had little avail."[2]

On another occasion he wrote to Mary of his son : " I desire that Arthur may lose no time but take Mr. Symonds' directions when to go to Cambridge. I have not had a letter from him for 11 months ; I suppose because I expressly desired one once a fortnight. But nothing surprises me that comes from him : Eton has I hope done so much for his head that it leaves nothing for his heart." Young adds in a note : " Say nothing to Arthur about writing ; I had much rather have no letter than such as these hints bring : observe this."[3]

Perhaps Young's words are really harsher than his demeanour. The note to the above letter softens much of what he has written because he seems to have regard for his son's feelings. Similarly there is a kindlier end than beginning to the following passage.

" I will bring the powder and pomatum—but as to the cambrick your Mother must not think things are smuggled from France with as much ease as from Ireland. I do not regard the trouble and will buy it for her readily if she holds in the mind but it must pay the duty which is high."[4]

His devotion to Martha is extraordinary. No news of her health and doings was ever sufficient, and his

1. *Autobiography*, p. 429.
2. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, f. 506 : Letter dated from Frejus, September 13th, 1789.
3. *Autobiography*, pp. 188, 189.
4. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, f. 394 : Letter dated August 7th, 1787.

recommendations as to the care to be taken of her even go to the lengths of specifying that she is to be well guarded from snakes.[1]

It would give a wrong impression of his attitude to his family if no mention were made of his relations after the year 1787. There is no reason to suppose that he did not do his best for them and, after the death of his youngest daughter, his interest was necessarily more general. At one time, indeed, he seems definitely to have sought the society of his wife, for she wrote to him at Bradfield in 1809: "You justly say 'you would be as well here as there!' True, if I could get the same sleep there as here. Without, I am burthensome to everybody."[2] This is definitely more pleasant than what one would expect from the virago of la Rochefoucauld's picture and her love for her son seems genuine when she writes: "I must not be so wicked as to go near breaking my heart because he chooses to stay where he is."[3]

Young had to support his son to a very considerable extent. When in 1802 the young man was discontented with his living in Limerick his father offered him the Bradfield home farm. This was declined.[4] His father's influence helped him to his position in the Crimea, and his father's money was still smoothing the way for him in 1814 and even later.[5]

Judging from his correspondence, Young's relations with his daughter Elizabeth, who married the Rev. S. Hoole and died in 1794, were always most cordial.

From previous chapters it will have been seen that Young was no lover of the poor, or more properly speaking, of the unindustrious poor. As the horrors which the Reign of Terror occasioned in him became less acute, and as he

1. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,126, f. 390.
2. Ibid. 35,130, f. 273.
3. Ibid. f. 275.
Arthur Young junior was at this time farming at Kaffa in the Crimea. He eventually died there in 1827. Vide *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Vol. IV: Article by A. Pell, p. 4.
4. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,128, f. 506.
5. Ibid. 35,132, f. 57 and 35,133, f. 129.

became more and more religious, his kindliness towards the lower classes increased. "His hall," we read, "was crowded every Sunday evening with peasants, to whom he read the prayers of the Church of England and dismissed them with a suitable exhortation."[1] Elsewhere we learn that he frequently gave feasts to the poor, which originated with dinners provided for children in memory of Martha,[2] and in the *European Magazine*, No. V (1820), there is an obituary notice of Arthur Young which contains the following passage.

"The funeral was attended by a large assemblage of poor from the surrounding country, all anxious to testify their respect for the loss they had sustained in so benevolent a benefactor; his kindness must be regretted by both *the young who labour and the old who rest*, as few even, with so limited an income, conferred greater benefits in their neighbourhood."[3]

Arthur Young's friends were numerous; his intimate acquaintances, both men and women, seem to have been very fond of him, and all showed great concern for his welfare. Among the men friends St. Croix particularly mentions Priestley and Davy, adding to his list the names of Grafton, Burke, Pitt, Fox, Johnson, Arbuthnot, Boyd, Coke, Burney, Reynolds and Wilberforce, "as well as his acquaintance with, and correspondent of Washington, Kames, Mansfield, Eldon, Cowper, Wesley, Nelson, Sheridan together with his countenance by all the courts of Europe and men of letters[4] . ." Another name which might well have been added was that of Malthus, who wrote to Young on waste lands and paper currency.[5]

Mention has already been made of Young's connection with many of these men, and his acquaintance with others only ripened after the year 1787. In the latter part of his life he became more and more religious. In 1784 he stated that during harvest-time work should be done in the fields on Sunday after the Service, reckoning that by this practice

1. *Biographical Memoir*, J. A. Paris, p. 308.
2. *Autobiography*, p. 472.
3. The date of Arthur Young's death was April 20th, 1820. He was buried in the graveyard of Bradfield Church.
4. *Elements of Agriculture*. Preface, p. xi.
5. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,133, ff. 457, 318.

the Kingdom would save £600,000 a year.[1] Nine years later we find printed a sermon which he had caused to be preached in the Parish Church at Bradfield.[2] It is not surprising, therefore, that many of his later friends were ecclesiastics. Judging from the correspondence, the most intimate of these was Wilberforce, with whom he first came in contact because of their mutual detestation of slavery.

The name of Sir John Sinclair is another omitted by St. Croix. Young's relations with this baronet were not cordial until they were both old men. He criticised him sharply with regard to the Board of Agriculture and Sinclair's contributions to the *Annals* are frequently commented on caustically.[3] In the end, however, we find Sir John able to write the following in a letter.

" I think our names are likely to be handed down to posterity together, as zealous friends to the improvement of the country, whose efforts on the whole have not been unsuccessful, though we have not been able to effect all the good that we expected."[4]

St. Croix forgets to mention John Symonds, Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, who was a firm friend of Young. It was in his hands that the management of the *Annals* was left during the editor's absence in France. This was not a very hard task, as we gather from this letter.

" I shall make my paper pretty long for fear of lacking material for the *Annals*.

" [How ashamed am I that I wrote this ! I have been just upstairs to look at your papers, and find two heaps, viz. for December and January, and should you be detained we might manage for February. I mention this to prevent your feeling any uneasiness about the Annals]."[5]

In making a brief mention of some of Young's friends we have been led to a consideration of his life after 1787. The digression on the whole is pardonable, but must be

1. *Annals of Agriculture*, Vol. II, p. 380.
2. Ibid. Vol. XIX, pp. 500-513.
3. e.g. Vol. XIX.
4. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 35,132, f. 106 : Letter dated May 6th, '14.
5. Ibid. 35,126, f. 484.

kept within bounds. We have seen enough of Young's private life to realize that his good qualities by far outweighed the bad, and this made him popular with some of the best of his contemporaries.

Although in work his patience was boundless, he sometimes showed a needless irritation with members of his own family and occasionally with his friends. Mrs. Young's case is exceptional because, at the risk of being ungallant, it is necessary to affirm that her character was peculiarly provocative. On the whole, however, Young seems to have treated his children with generosity and consideration. Young's preference was for his daughters. They were more like him in character, whereas Arthur, the son, inherited in a certain measure the discontent of his mother. None of his letters are cheerful, and not many sound grateful for the help he had received.

Of Young's personality it is possible to judge from contemporary opinion. He is represented as being gay, witty and very helpful. This must have been a distinct side to his nature because in his writings we have nothing to lead us to believe that he was more than a boundlessly energetic man with little appreciation of anything which was not agriculturally or economically sound. Neither does the *Autobiography* help in this matter, because it was revised or compiled late in his life, when he considered frivolity a sin. In proof there are his mistakes with regard to dates and the gloomy religion which pervades his book.

His cheerfulness in early life endeared him to women. Among his intimate friends he numbered Fanny Burney—afterwards Madame d'Arblay; Elizabeth Oakes, Margaret Metcalfe and Marianne Francis are three more names which appear frequently in the correspondence. Their letters are so numerous that it is obvious they held Arthur Young in deep affection, and, during his blindness at the end of his life, Marianne Francis became his devoted secretary. He was particularly fond of his mother. On two occasions at least he gave up his plans in order to meet with her wishes. The first occasion was when he refused a commission in the army, and the second was when he gave up the idea of emigrating to America after his return from Ireland.

St. Croix has summed up Young's public work. He mentions: "His honest zeal as an agriculturalist. . . his matchless foresight on the eve of our late war, when England was a comparative waste. . . his indomitable perseverance in the cause of the reclamation of its waste lands, amounting to 2,000,000 acres through the "general enclosure bill"—his unflinching opposition to all ill-digested measures trenching upon national industry, as when in Ireland. . . his indignant denunciation of Cobbett and Spence's principle of sacrificing Commerce to Agriculture, the agitation of which threatened such mischievous consequences; his sturdy stand in connection with his friend Burke against Revolutionary principles. . . . his successful suggestion for the establishment of a Horse Militia of Property . . . . his commendable and persevering energy in the establishment of a Board of Agriculture. . . . his hints for numbering the people."[1]

This sketch of Young's activities seems to indicate that the most important part of his life's work was done after the year 1787, but this is not the case. By the time that St. Croix wrote,[2] the reforms in agricultural management which Young advocated had become an accepted part of routine. Fallow every third year was unheard of; turnips, carrots and potatoes were firmly established, communications were excellent, and by economic necessity the small and poor farmers were generally crowded out of existence at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Their places were taken by more wealthy proprietors.

Young's writings were therefore one of the chief factors which made British agriculture prosper during the nineteenth century, and the majority of his books on farming were published before 1787. The *Travels in France* followed, and then some short works on the French Revolution. The books which appeared after 1794 were relatively unimportant.[3]

1. *Elements of Agriculture*, Vol. I, Intro., p. 13.
2. 1851.
3. Vide *The Writings of Arthur Young*, G. D. Amery (1925). This tract is a careful bibliography of everything which Young wrote.

Professor Okey headed his edition of the *Travels in France* with the brief Latin quotation " bonus agricola, bonus civis." In this he sums up Arthur Young's true title to fame

As a man Young was pleasant and companionable, as an agriculturalist he was extraordinarily energetic, far-seeing and valuable ; as an economist he was reasonably original and correct ; as a patriot he was unexceptionable. There are many men lauded in History who have fewer claims to recognition and gratitude.

THE END.

Vu et Lu.
Le Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres,
E. Galletier.

Vu et permis d'imprimer.
Rennes, le 24 Mars 1930,
Le Recteur,
L. Gérard Varet.

APPENDIX A.

The following is a list of towns, villages and occasionally important farms visited by Arthur Young during his English tours. As far as possible the names are given in the order of the course of his journeys. It will be understood that Young not infrequently retraced his steps.

The Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales.

Sampford Hall, Holkham, Houghton, Farenham, Lynn, Stoak (*sic*), Thetford, Stomarket, Tolstock, Thetford, Bury, Lavenham, Hadley, Sudbury, Castle Headingham, Gosfield, Bocking, Braintree, Billericay, Chelmsford, Tilbury, Gravesend, Thong, Dartford, Shooters Hill, Barnet, Bexley, Hatfield, Ucton, Wycomb, Stoke, Tetsford, Oxford, Woodstock, Witney, Hamborough, Northleach, Frogmill, Stowe, Shipton, Gloucester, Newnham, Chepstow, Lanvachers, Newport, Cardiff, Cowbridge, Bridgend, Persfield, Bristol, King's Weston, Bath, Devizes, Wilton, Salisbury, Romsey, Winchester, Crux Eaton, Aylesford, Alton, Bentley Green, Farnham, Guilford (*sic*), Ripley, Cobham, Esher, Kingston, Clapham, Wanstead, Ilford, Burntwood (*sic*), Chelmsford, Sampford Hall.

A Six Months' Tour through the North of England.

Bradmore Farm—North Mimms, Hatfield, Welwyn, Stevenage, Hitchen, Luton, Offley, Dunstable, Milton, Woodburn, Newport Pagnell, Wanden, Bedford, Astwich, Northill, Carrington, Sandy, St. Neots, Kimbolton, Haleweston, Thrapston, Great Catworth, Dundee, Stamford, Casterton, Grimsthorpe, Coltsworth, Belvoir Castle, Grantham, Fossen, Newark, Tuxford, West Drayton, Shirewood (*sic*), Bawtrey, Doncaster, Cantler, Rotherham, Sheffield, Barnsley, Wakefield, Leeds, Tadcaster, Winmoor, Riddel, York, Beverly, Wilburfort, Hatton, Barnby Moor, Risby, Hull, Cottingham, Hottenprice, Walkington, Little Weighton, York, Stillingfleet, Selby, Holderness, Wentworth,

Howden, Kniverton, Aston, Worksop, Welbech, Pontefract, Methley, Temple Newsham, Ferrybridge, Beverley, Driffield, Burlington, Boynton, Honanby, Castlehoward, East Newton, Laysthrope, Nunnington, Newton Hambleton, Kirby, Cleveland Swarmby Ayton, Kirkleatham, Scorton, Richmond, Gilling, Gretna Bridge, Rookby, Bows, Newbiggin, Bernard Castle, Brough, Reeth, Fremington, Richmond, Scorton, Kiplin, Swinton, Crakehill, Slenningford, Danby, Richmond, Middleham, Mount Penhill, Aylesgarth, Richmond, Darlington, Raby Castle, Durham, Newcastle, Gosford, Morpeth, Alnwick, Belford, Wooler, Rothbury, Wollington, Cambo, Glenwelt, Brampton, Carlisle, High Ascot, Penrith, Shapp, Lowther, Kendal, Burton, Lancaster, Wigan, Warrington, Liverpool, Altrincham, Manchester, Dunham, Knutsford, Holms Chapel, Stone, Rudgley (*sic*), Lichfield, Shenstone, Leasowes, Birmingham, Hagley, Hales Owen, Bromsgrove, Worcester, Pershore, Evesham, Moreton, Chipping Norton, Oxford, Henley, Maidenhead, London, Highgate, Barnet, North Mimms.

A Farmer's Tour through the East of England.

North Mimms, St. Albans, Hemel Hempstead, Berkhamstead, Tring, Aylesbury, Buckingham, Hockston, Winslow, Towster (*sic*), Northampton, Hazelbeach, Kettering, Market Harborough, Tilton, Leicester, Loughborough, Dishley, Nottingham, Arnold, Newstead, Mansfield, Alfreton, Derby, Matlock, Charsworth, Tiddswell, Castleton, Chesterfield, Middleton, Bawtry, Gateford, Blythe, Doncaster, Broadsworth, Barnsley, Retford, Dunham Ferry, Bootham, Lincoln, Sleaford, Swinehead, Barton, Long Sutton, Leverington, Walpole, Lynn, Massingham, Runcton, Sandringham, Snettisham, Sommerfield, Sunderland, Burnham Wells, Warham, Sherringham, Holt, Milton, Aylsham, Norwich, Fligg, Yarmouth, Beccles, Yoxford, Saxmundham, Woodbridge, Ipswich, Nacton, Hadleigh, Manningtree, Lawford, Colchester, Chelmsford, Dunmow, Hockerill, Braintree, Thaxtead, Ware, Esenden (*sic*), Hatfield, Petersham, Clapham, Mitcham, Morden, Carshalton, St. Mary's Cray, Dartford, Northfleet, Shorn, Rochester,

Chatham, Faversham, Maidstone, Sittingbourne, Canterbury, Addisham, Wingham, St. Nicholas, Margate, Minster, Sandwich, Deal, Dover, Hythe, Romney Marsh, Rye, Hawkshurst, Burwash, Lewis, Grimstead, Walberton, Bignor Park, Chichester, Portsmouth, Ryde, Newport, Cowes, Southampton, Winchester, Alresford, Southampton, Redbridge, New Forest, Gilbury, Wimborne, Christchurch, Ringwood, Critchill, Poole, Wareham, Moreton, Dorchester, Ridgeway Hill, Weymouth, Bridport, Axminster, Chard, Leigh, Taunton, Henlade, Bridgwater, Sedgmoor, Glastonbury, Wells, Compton, Stone Easton, Bath, King's Down, Melksham, Devizes, Bishops Canons, Marlborough, Hungerford, Newbury, Donnington, Reading, Marlow, Menlow, Beaconsfield, Uxbridge, Brentford, Sion Hill, Uxbridge, Stanmore, Edgware, Barnet, North Mimms.

APPENDIX B.

It has been regretted that none of Arthur Young's poems has been preserved. Evidence, however, points to the following having come from his pen. It is an anonymous contribution to the *Universal Museum* (No. 1, p. 58).

An Elegy.

The eye of nature never rests from care !
She guards her children with a parents' love ;
And not a mischief reigns in earth or air,
But time destroys or remedies remove.
In vain no ill shall haunt the walks of life !
No vice in vain the human heart deprave ;
The pois'nous flower the tempest's raging strife
From greater pain ; from greater ruin save.
Lavinia, form'd with every powerful grace,
With all that lights the flame of young desire ;
Pure ease of wit and elegance of face,
A soul all fancy, and an eye all fire.
Lavinia—peace ! my busy, fluttering breast !
Nor fear to languish in my former pain :

At last she yields—ye Gods—the needful rest ;
And frees her lover from his galling chain.
The golden star that leads the radiant morn,
Looks not so fair, fresh rising from the main ;
But her bent eye-brow bears forbidding scorn—
But pride's fell furies every heart-string strain.
Lavinia ! thanks to thy detested mind ;
I now behold thee with indifferent eyes ;
And reason dares, tho' love as death be blind,
Thy gay, thy worthless being to despise.
Beauty may charm without one inward grace,
And fair proportions win the captive heart,
But let rank pride the pleasing form debase,
And love disgusted breaks his erring dart.
The youth that once the sculptur'd nymph admired,
Had looked with scornful laughter on her charms,
In the vain form with recent life inspir'd,
Had turned disdainful from his offered arms,
Go thoughtless maid ! of transient beauty vain,
Feed the high thought, the tow'ring hope extend,
Still may'st thou dream of splendor in thy train,
And smile superb, while love and flatt'ry bend,
For me—sweet peace shall sooth my troubled mind,
And easy slumbers close my weary eyes ;
Since reason dares, tho' love as death be blind,
Thy gay, thy worthless being to despise.

ARTHUR YOUNG'S WORKS, 1758—1787.

In the case of several editions, the one to which reference is made in this thesis is marked with an asterisk.

The Theatre of the Present War in North America: With Candid Reflections on the Great Importance of the War in that Part of the World. By A. Young, Esq., London. Printed for J. Coote, 1758. 8vo.

Reflections on the Present State of Affairs at Home and Abroad. By A. Young, Esq. Printed for J. Coote, 1759. 8vo.

The Universal Museum: Or Gentlemen's and Ladies' Polite Magazine of History, Politics and Literature for 1762. Vol. I, London, 1762. 8vo.

Museum Rusticum et Commerciale: Or Select Papers on Agriculture, Commerce, Arts and Manufactures. Six Vols., London, 1764-6. 8vo.

Vol. III, No. 45: "Common Farmers vindicated from the charges of being universally ignorant and obstinate." No. 46: "On the mowing of wheat and the cultivation of lucerne." No. 47: "Of Manuring Land at a Large Expense." No. 63: "Of the Improvement of Wet Pastures." No. 74: "The Profit attending Arable and Pasture Land compared, as found by Experience, near Bury, in Suffolk."

Vol. IV, No. 8: "Of the Usefulness of Acquiring a Knowledge of Foreign Practices in Husbandry." No. 9: "An Enquiry respecting the Prices of the Implements used in the New Husbandry. No. 10: "Some errata in Number 74, Vol. III corrected." No. 38: "The Use of Broad Wheel Waggons recommended to Farmers." No. 62: Reasons why Farming so often proves unprofitable." No. 63: "An Answer to Ruricola Glocestris in which is contained an Estimate of the Expenses and Profits of a Dairy of Four Cows."

(These Letters, with the exception of No. 46 of Vol. III and No. 63 of Vol. IV, were reprinted in the Farmer's Letters under the title of "Sylvae"; No. 74

of Vol. III and Nos. 62 and 63 of Vol. IV were reprinted in "Select Essays on Husbandry," Edinburgh, 1767. 8vo.)

A Letter to Lord Clive on the Great Benefits which may result to the Public from patriotically expending a small part of a large private fortune: Particularly in Promoting the Interests of Agriculture by Forming an Experimental Farm. Containing a Practical Course of Management, with Estimates of the Expenses and Profit. Illustrated with a Plan of the Farm. London: Printed for W. Nicholl, 1767. 8vo.

**The Farmer's Letters to the People of England*: containing the Sentiments of a Practical Husbandman on various Subjects of the Utmost Importance. To which is added *Sylvae*, or Occasional Tracts on Husbandry and Rural Œconomics. London: Printed for W. Nicholl, 1767. 8vo.

— The Second Edition, corrected and enlarged. London: Printed for W. Nicholl, 1768. 8vo.

— The Third Edition, corrected and enlarged. Dublin: Printed for J. Millikin, 1768. 16mo.

The Farmer's Letters to the People of England: The Third Edition, corrected and enlarged. In two vols. (Vol. II has title "The Farmer's Letters to the Landlords of Great Britain," and is illustrated with 14 plates). London: Printed for W. Strahan, etc., 1771. 8vo.

**A Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales*, with Descriptions and Models of such New Invented Implements of Husbandry as Deserve to be Generally Known: In Several Letters to a Friend. By the author of the Farmer's Letters. (Illustrated in text). London: Printed for W. Nicholl, 1768. 8vo.

— Second Edition, corrected and enlarged. (Illustrated with plate and figure in text). London: Printed for W. Strahan, etc., 1769. 8vo.

— Third Edition, corrected and enlarged. (Illustrated with three plates). London: Printed for W. Strahan, etc., 1772. 8vo.

— An Abridgement of the Six Weeks' and Six Months' Tours of Arthur Young, Esq., through the Southern

and Northern Counties of England. J. W. Baker, London, 1771. 8vo.

An Essay on the Management of Hogs: Including Experiments on Rearing and Fattening them. London: Printed for W. Nicholl, 1770. 8vo.

*— Second Edition (includes Culture of Coleseed). London: Printed for W. Nicholl, 1769. 8vo.

Letters Concerning the Present State of the French Nation. With a complete comparison between France and Great Britain. London: Printed for W. Nicholl, 1769. 8vo.

A Six Months' Tour through the North of England. Containing an Account of the Present State of Agriculture, Manufactures and Population in Several Counties of the Kingdom. (Illustrated with 27 plates). Four vols. London: Printed for W. Strahan, etc., 1770. 8vo.

*— Second Edition, corrected and enlarged. (Illustrated with 28 plates). First Issue. London: Printed for W. Strahan, etc., 1770. 8vo.

— Second Edition, corrected and enlarged. Second Issue. London: Printed for W. Strahan, etc., 1771. 8vo.

— An Abridgement of the Six Weeks' and Six Months' Tours, etc., by J. W. Baker. Vide supra.

— Extracts from Mr. Young's Six Months' Tour through the North of England. By James Sharp. (Illustrated with 7 plates). London: 1774. 8vo. (Deals with canals only).

— Reisen Durch England, ein Absicht auf die Œkonomie, Manufacturen, etc. Two vols. Liepzig, 1772. 8vo.

The Expediency of a Free Exportation of Corn at this time: with Some Observations on the Bounty and its Effects. London: Printed for W. Nicholl, 1770. 8vo.

*— Second Edition. London: Printed for W. Nicholl, 1770. 8vo.

**The Farmer's Guide in Hiring and Stocking Farms.* Containing an Examination of many Subjects of Great Importance both to the Common Husbandman in Hiring a Farm: and to a Gentleman on taking the Whole or Part of his Estate into his own hands. Also Plans of Farmyards and Sections of the Necessary Buildings. Two vols. London: Printed for W. Strahan, etc., 1770. 8vo.

— Reprinted. Dublin: Printed for J. Exshaw, etc., 1771. 8vo.

— *Le Guide du Fermier*, ou Instructions pour élever, nourrir acheter et vendre les bêtes à cornes, les brebis, etc. Two parts. Paris 1790. 8vo.

**A Course of Experimental Agriculture*: Containing an Exact Register of all the Business transacted during Five Years on near Three Hundred Acres of various Soils; the whole stated in near Two Thousand Original Experiments. Two vols. London: Printed for J. Dodsley, 1770. 4to.

— Reprinted in four vols, Dublin: Printed for J Exshaw, etc,. 1771. 8vo.

**Rural Œconomy*: or Essays on the Practical Parts of Husbandry. To which is added the Rural Socrates: being Memoirs of a Country Philosopher. London: Printed for T. Becket, 1770. 8vo.

— Reprinted. Dublin: Printed for J. Exshaw, etc., 1770. 8vo.

— Second Edition, corrected. London: Printed for T. Becket, 1773. 8vo.

— Reprinted with the title "The Rural Socrates," to which is added Essays on the Practical Parts of Husbandry. London: Sold by Constable Sewell, 1779. 8vo.

Proposals to the Legislature for Numbering the People: Containing some Observations on the Population of Great Britain, and a Sketch of the Advantages that would probably accrue from an exact Knowledge of its Present State. London: Printed for W. Nicholl, 1771. 8vo.

A Farmer's Tour through the East of England : Being the Register of a Journey through various Counties of this Kingdom, to enquire into the State of Agriculture, etc. (Illustrated with 28 plates). Four vols. London : Printed for W. Strahan, etc., 1771. 8vo.

— *Voyage Agronomique*, précédé du parfait fermier, contenant l'état générale de la culture anglaise, traduit par de Fréville. Deux tom. Paris : 1774. 8vo.

— *Reisen Durch England*, ein Absicht auf die Œkonomie, Manufacturen, etc. Two vols. Leipzig, 1775. 8vo.

The Farmer's Calendar : or Monthly Directory for all Sorts of Country Business : by an Experienced Farmer. London : Printed for Robinson & Roberts, 1771. 8vo.

— Second Edition, greatly enlarged and improved. London : Printed for G. Robinson, 1778. 8vo.

— *New Edition, greatly enlarged and improved (with 2 plates). London : Printed for R. Phillips, 1804. 8vo.

— Sixth Edition, greatly enlarged and improved. London: Printed for R. Phillips, 1805. 8vo.

— Eighth Edition, greatly enlarged and improved. London : Printed for R. Phillips, 1809. 8vo.

— Tenth Edition, greatly enlarged and improved. London: Printed for R. Phillips, 1815. 8vo.

— Twelfth Edition. Corrected and several new chapters added by J. Middleton. (With 12 plates). London : Printed for Sir R. Phillips, etc., 1822. 8vo.

— Thirteenth Edition. London : Printed for Sir R. Phillips, etc., 1823. 8vo.

— Twenty-first Edition. Rewritten and extended. By J. C. Morton. With numerous illustrations. London, 1862. 8vo.

— Twenty-second Edition. London, 1862. 8vo.

See *London Magazine* for 1772, pp. 162-165 : Letter from Arthur Young dated North Mimms, March 28th, 1772, in answer to Dr. Price's observations on the decrease of population.

Political Essays Concerning the Present State of the British Empire. London: Printed for W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1772, 8vo

— *Ueber Grossbritanniens Staatswirthschaft, Polizei und Handlung*; aus dem Englischen von F. A. Klockenbring: Gotha, 1792. 8vo.

Essays on the Spirit of Legislation, in the Encouragement of Agriculture, Population, Manufactures and Commerce. Translated from the original French. London: Printed for W. Nicholl and G. Robinson, 1772. 8vo.

Observations on the Present State of the Waste Lands of Great Britain. Published on the occasion of the establishment of a New Colony on the Ohio. London: Printed for W. Nicholl, 1773. 8vo.

Political Arithmetic. Containing Observations on the Present State of Great Britain and the principles of her Policy in the Encouragement of Agriculture. London: Printed for W. Nicholl, 1774. 8vo.

— *Arithmétique Politique*, addressée aux sociétés économiques établies en Europe, traduit par M. de Freville. Deux tom. La Haye, 1775. 8vo.

— *Politische Arithmetik*; aus dem Englischen (von C. J. Kraus). Konigsberg, 1777. 8vo.

Political Arithmetic Part II. Containing Considerations on the means of Raising the Supplies within the Year. Occasioned by Mr. Pulteney's Pamphlet on that Subject. London: Printed for T. Cadell, 1779. 8vo.

A Tour in Ireland: with General Observations on the Present State of that Kingdom. Made in the years 1776, 1777 and 1778 and brought down to the end of 1779 (with 2 plates). London: Printed for T. Cadell and J. Dodsley, 1780. 4to.

— Reprinted in two vols. with frontispiece only. Dublin: Printed for Messrs. Whitestone, Sleater, etc., 1780. 8vo.

— Second Edition in two vols. (illustrated with 5 plates). London: Printed by H. Goldney for T. Cadell, 1780. 8vo.

**A Tour in Ireland*: Edited with Introduction and Notes by A. W. Hutton, with a Bibliography by J. P. Anderton. Two vols. (Bohn's Library). London, 1892. 8vo.

— Extracts (The British Tourists, by William Mavor, Vol. III). London, 1798. 12mo.

— Extracts (Ibid, Vol. II). London, 1809. 12mo.

— Extracts (A Collection of Voyages and Travels, by J. Pinkerton. Vol. III, pp. 811-76). London, 1809. 4to.

— Extracts (Reprinted as given by Pinkerton in Cassell's National Library, No 76) London, 1887. 16mo.

— *Voyage en Irlande*, etc. Traduit par C. Millon. Deux tom. Paris, 1800. 8vo.

— *Reise Durch Irland*; aus dem Englischen 2 Bde. Leipzig, 1780-82. 8vo.

— Extracts selected and edited by Constantia Maxwell, with plates. Cambridge University Press, 1926. 8vo.

An Enquiry into the Legality and Expediency of Increasing the Royal Navy by Subscriptions for Building County Ships, to which are added: Observations on the State of the Taxes and Resources of the Kingdom on the conclusion of the Peace Bury St Edmunds: Printed by Green & Gedge, 1783. 8vo.

Annals of Agriculture and other useful arts. Collected and published by Arthur Young, Vols. I—XLVI. London: Printed by H. Goldney, etc., 1784-1815. 8vo. See special list.

— *Annalen des Ackerbaues* und die Kunste; aus dem Englischen von Hahnemann, mit anmerkungen von Riem. 3 Thle. Leipzig, 1790-1802. 8vo.

The Question of Wool Truly Stated. In which Facts are Examined for and against the Bill now depending in Parliament. London: Printed for W. Nicholl, 1788. 8vo.

A Speech on the Wool Bill that might have been spoken in the House of Commons. London: Printed for W. Nicholl, 1788. 8vo.

The following translations must be mentioned separately : —

Le Cultivateur Anglois, ou œuvres choisies d'agriculture, et d'économie rurale et politique, d'Arthur Young, traduit de l'anglois par C. C. Lamarre, Benoist et Billecocq ; avec des notes par le citoyen Delalauze. Avec des planches. 18 tom. Paris : 1800-1801. 8vo.

Recueil d'Ouvrages d'Économie Politique et Rurale, traduit de l'Anglais. 2 tom. Paris, 1780. 8vo.

Filature, Commerce et Prix des Laines en Angleterre ou Correspondance sur ces matières. Paris, 1790. 8vo.

The majority of the works mentioned above have already been listed by Mr. J. P. Anderton in Mr. Hutton's edition of the *Tour in Ireland* (1792), and by Professor G. D. Amery in *The Writings of Arthur Young* (1925), reprinted from Journal of Royal Agricultural Society of England, of November, 1924.

ARTHUR YOUNG'S MAIN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE *ANNALS OF AGRICULTURE*, 1784-1787.

VOLUME I.

An enquiry into the situation of the Kingdom on the conclusion of the late Treaty. And into the surest means of adding to the national resources by a proper application of the arts of peace. 9—87.

Experiments to ascertain the force necessary to draw various ploughs. 113—119.

A coup d'œil of the present state of the nation. 119—123

On making hay of winter tares. 132.

On the curl in potatoes. 133.

Hints to correspondents. 133—135.

Equi-distant drilling and broadcast cultures of wheat compared. 135—136.

Experiments to ascertain how far, and in what form, phlogiston is the food of plants. 139—189.

On the price of land at present in England. 203—206. Value of dung spread for wheat ascertained. 219—220.

Advertisement in Italian, French and Latin for the co-operation of foreign writers on agriculture. Between 220—221.

Experiments on the food of plants. 254—272.

Experiments on fattening hogs. 333—354.

Review of Vols. III—VI of Robert Wight's "Present State of Husbandry in Scotland." 357—369.

Considerations on the connection between the agriculture of England and the commercial policy of her sugar islands, particularly respecting a free trade with North America. 437—447.

Review of L. D'Aubenton's "Instruction pour les Bergers." 447—461.

Conclusion to the reader. 461—467.

VOLUME II. 1784.

Observations on the petition for an Act to restrain the export of rabbits' wool. 12—17.

Experiments on manures. 17—32.

A fortnight's tour in Kent and Essex. 33—104.

A five days' tour to Woodbridge, etc. 105—168.

On the time of sowing wheat. 193—195.

Observations on the means of promoting Russian husbandry. 238—253.

Observations on the window tax as a commutation for the duty on tea. 301—313.

An observation on the brick and tile tax. 314—315.

Reviews of new publications relating to agriculture. 316—342.

A minute of the husbandry, at Holkham, of Thomas William Coke. 353—383.

Observations on the culture of carrots. 391—399.

Course of exchange. 402—411.

Price of bullion. 411—412.

Review of new publications relating to agriculture. 415—422.

On the pleasures of agriculture. 456—487.

VOLUME III. 1785.

On housing cows. 58—62.

Experiments on manures. 63—81.

Continuation of the experiments on the food of plants. 103—127.

On emigrations to America for practising agriculture with advantage. 169—182.

Description of a drill plough with a plate. 240—243.

Review of new publications relating to agriculture. 243—251.

Price of provisions at Paris in January, 1785. 253—255.

Observations on the commercial arrangement with Ireland. 257—291.

Review of new publications relating to agriculture. 336—346.

An embankment against the sea of the late Count Bentinck. 353—359.

Extracts from a paper entitled "Iron Trade." 388—398.

Observations on the Earl of Dundonald's scheme for transferring the tax on salt to hearths. 399—411.

Review of new publications relating to agriculture. 411—421.

On the growth of trees. 429—432.

Reply to Mr. Holme's queries on lime. 445—450.

Thoughts on the establishment of a Chamber of Manufacturers. 452—455.

Considerations on the means of ascertaining the prices of corn for the regulation of export and import. 456—468.

Queries concerning phlogiston as the food of animals. 476—481.

Review of Necker's "Administration des Finances de la France." 504—525.

VOLUME IV. 1785.

How far a new arrangement of trade between Great Britain and France may affect the agriculture of either Kingdom. 16—28.

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34,854) as opposed to ten (34,855—34,864). The decrease in space is due to the neatness and care of the transcriber.

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